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DIARY OF
JOHN EVELYN

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TO WHICH ARE ADDED A SELECTION FROM HIS

FAMILIAR LETTERS

AND THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN
KING CHARLES I. AND SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS

AND BETWEEN

SIR EDWARD HYDE (AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON)
AND SIR RICHARD BROWNE

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS.

BY WILLIAM BRAY, F.S.A.

A NEW EDITION IN FOUR VOLUMES

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR AND A NEW PREFACE

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

AUTHOR OF 'SAMUEL PEPYS AND THE WORLD HE LIVED IN'
AND EDITOR OF PEPYS'S DIARY, 1893-9

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

VOL. IV.

²¹
LONDON

BICKERS AND SON

1906

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~~Br 1855.9.28~~

Br 1855.9.28 (4)

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Subscription Fund

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ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

THE FOURTH VOLUME

“ SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS, SECRETARY OF STATE TO CHARLES I.	<i>Frontispiece</i>
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CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN EVELYN.

To Mr. Evelyn.

Apr. 7, 1696.

Honored S^r,

I WAS unfortunately out of the way when you did me the honor to send me that admirable & obliging letter concerning Mr. Boyle, & was so fatigued on my return, by my coming home upon a lame horse, that I could not wait upon you a Sunday at Wooton as I intended to do. I cannot sufficiently express my thanks to you for your excellent hints; if my L^d Archbishop of Canterbury encourages me, & I can get those materials out of Mr. Warre's hands, w^{ch} I was speaking of, I will set about it. I suppose you will receive by the penny-post 2 Philos. Transactions, N^o 219, in which is my abridgement of Sig^r Scilla's book of Shells. I had brought more down for that purpose, but not being able to compass my designe of waiting upon you at Wooton, I have sent to the bookseller to convey y^m to you that way. One of y^m with my humblest thanks I would entreat you to present to S^r Cyril Wyche, when

you see him. I wish I knew how to express the joy I feel in having my poor projects approved by so great a judge and patron of learning, & its well-wishers. I am, hon^d S^r,

Your most obliged servant,
W. WOTTON.

Ind^d: Mr. Wotton, &c.
Of a present made me of a book.

To Mr. Evelyn.

Albury, May 24, 1696.

Honored S^r,

Your last obliging letter has put me into greater fears than anything that ever befell me in my whole life. How I shall possibly answer Mr. Evelyn's expectation I can't conceive, & without the highest vanity I can as little bring myself to think that I shall not fall extreamly short of it. Your naming me at my Lord of Canterbury's upon such an occasion was the highest honour could have ben done a young writer. Next to that was the trustees approving your nomination. I say next to that, for they were ashamed to seem backward to comply with what Mr. Evelyn should think fit to propose. I am now therefore onely to wait for the B^p of Salisbury's fiat, which, if it is granted, it will be too late for me to recede, tho' I know very well I shall be *impar operi* in every respect. I will study, however, to preserve Mr. Evelyn's reputation as much as ever I can, & I do hereby faithfully assure him, that care & industry shall not be wanting to carry on a work, in which he has generously been pleased to have so distinguishing a share.

As soon as I shall hear of your return to Wotton where your freinds in this countrey ardently expect

you, I shall do my self the honour to tell you more at large, how very much I am, as well as ought to be,

Honored S^r,

Your most obliged & most faithfull humble serv^t,

W. WOTTON.

*To my Lord Godolphin, one of the L^{ds} Justices,
and first Commiss^r of the Treasury.*

My Lord,

There are now almost foure yeares elaps'd, since looking over some papers of mine, I found among other things divers notes which I had taken relating to Medals; when reflecting upon the usefullnesse of the historical part of that noble study, and considering that there had ben little, or indeede rather nothing at all written of it among us here in England (whilst other countryes abounded in many excellent books & authors of greate name on this subject), I began to divert my solitary thoughts by reducing & putting my scatter'd collection into such method as grew at last to a formal treatise. Among other particulars (after I had more at large dispatch'd what concern'd the Greeke & Roman, and those of the Lower Empire) I endeavor'd the gath'ring up all such Medals as I could any where find had ben struck before and since the Conquest (if any such there were) relating to any part of good history. Now tho mony and coines during the severall reignes of almost all our kings, from the British to this present time (as may be seene in what Mr. Walker has added to the late edition of Cambden) be forraine to my subject; and that I could meet with none which deserved the name of Medal 'til the two last centuries; yet I could not well avoyd speaking something of the Mint, where medals were coin'd as well as mony. The copy being thus pre-

par'd for the presse, I two yeares since deliver'd to a bookseller, who after he had wrought off almost 80 pages in folio (emulating what had ben don and publish'd by Jaques de Bie & Mons. Bizot, in their *Histoire Metalique* of France & Holland) would needes be at the charge of engraving an hundred stamps to adorne a chapter relating to our English Medals. This requiring time (& far better artists than any I perceive he is like to find) retarding the publication of his book, I thought it might not be either unseasonable or unagreeable to y^r L^p, if on this conjuncture of affaires (and when every body is discoursing of these matters) I did present y^r L^p with a part of that chapter concerning Mony which (tho' passing thro' the same mechanisme) I distinguish from Medal at the beginning of my first chapter, proceeding in the VIIth to that of the Mint. It is there that I show (after all the expedients offer'd and pretended, for the recovery & security of this nation from the greate danger it is in by the wicked practices of those who of late have so impudently ruin'd the publiq credit & faith of all mankind among us by clipping, debasing, & all other unrighteous ways of perverting the species) what is it which can possibly put a stop to the evil & mischeife, that it go no farther; if at least it have not ben so long neglected as to be irremediable.

But, my L^d, this is not all. There are severall other things of exceeding greate importance, which had neede be taken care of, & to be set on foote effectually, for the obviating the growing mischiefs, destructive to the flourishing state of this mercantile nation. Amongst the rest:

There is certainly wanting a Council of Trade, that should not be so call'd onely, but realy be in truth what it is call'd; compos'd of a wise, publiq-spirited, active & noble President, a select number

of Assessors, sober, industrious & dextrous men, & of consum'ate experience *in rebus agendis*; who should be arm'd with competent force at sea, to protect the greater com'erce & general trade; if not independent of the Admiralty, not without an almost co-ordinate authority, as far as concerns the protection of trade; and to be maintained chiefly by those who, as they adventure most, receive the greatest benefit.

To these should likewise be com'itted the care of the Manufactures of the kingdome, with stock for employment of the poore; by which might be moderated that unreasonable statute for their relief (as now in force) occasioning more idle persons, who charge the publiq without all reamedy, than otherwise there would be, insufferably burdening the parishes, by being made to earne their bread honestly, who now eate it in idleness, & take it out of the mouthes of the truely indigent, much inferior in number, & worthy objects of charity.

It is by such a Council that the swarmes of private traders, who, tho' not appearing in mighty torrents & streames, yet like a confluence of silent, almost indiscernable, but in'umerable riveletts, do evidently draine & exhaust the greater *hydrophylacia* & magazines, nay the very vital blood of trade, where there is no follower to supply those many issues, without which the constitution of the body politic, like the natural, needes must fail for want of nourishment & recruits. But whom this article affects I have spoken in my discourse of Mony.

'Tis likewise to this Assembly, that all proposals of new inventions (pretended for the publiq benefit) should first be brought, & examin'd, encouraged or rejected, without reproch as projectures, or turning the unsuccessful proposer to ridicule, by a barbarity without example, no where countenanc'd but in this nation.

Another no lesse exhauster, & waster of the public treasure, is the progresse & increase of buildings about this already monstrous Citty, wherein one yeare with another are erected about 800 houses, as I am credibly inform'd ; which carrys away such prodigious summs of our best and weightiest mony by the Norway trade for deale-timber onely, but exports nothing hence of moment to balance it, besides sand & gravell to balance their empty ships ; whilst doubtlesse those other more necessary com'odities (were it well encourag'd) might in a short time be brought us in greate measure, and much preferable to their goodness, from our owne plantations, which now we fetch from others, for our naval stores.

Truely, my L^d, I cannot but wonder, & even stand amaz'd, that Parliaments should have sate from time to time, so many hundred yeares, & value their constitution to that degree, as the most sovraine remedy for the redresse of public grievances ; whilst the greatest still remaine unreform'd & untaken away. Witnesse the confus'd, debauch'd, & riotous manner of electing members qualified to become the representatives of a nation, wth legislative power to dispose of the fate of kingdomes ; which should & would be compos'd of worthy persons, of known integritie & ability in their respective countries, and still would serve them generously, & as their ancestors have don, but are not able to fling away a son or daughter's portion to bribe the votes of a multitude, more resembling a pagan bacchanalia, than an assembly of Christians & sober men met upon the most solemn occasion that can concerne a people, and stand in competition with some rich scrivener, brewer, banker, or one in some gainfull office, whose face or name, perhaps, they never saw or knew before. How, my L^d, must this sound abroad ! With what dishonor & shame a home !

To this add the disproportion of the Burroughs capable of electing members, by which the major part of the whole kingdom are frequently out-voted, be the cause never so unjust, if it concerne a party interest.

Will ever those swarmes of *locusts*, lawyers & attorneys, who fill so many seats, vote for a public *Register*, by which men may be secured of their titles & possessions, & an infinity of suits & frauds prevented?

Im'oderate fees, tedious & ruinous delays, & tossings from court to court before an easy cause, which might be determin'd by honest gentlemen & understanding neighbours, can come to any final issue, may be number'd amongst the most vexatious oppressions that call aloud for redresse.

The want of bodys (slaves) for public & laborious works, to which many sorts of criminals might be usefully condemn'd, and some reform'd instead of sending them to the gallows, deserves to be consider'd.

These, & the like are the greate desiderata (as well as the reformation of the coine), which are plainly wanting to the consum'ate felicity of this nation; and divers of them of absolute necessitie to its recovery from the atrophy & consumption it labours under.

The King himselfe should (my L^d) be acquainted with these particulars, & of the greate importance of them, by such as from their wisdom & integrity, deserve the nearest accesse, and would purchase him the hearts of a free & emancipated people, & a blessing on the government; were he pleas'd uncessantly to recommend them to those, who, from time to time, are call'd together for these ends, & healing of the nation.

And now your Ex^y will doubtlesse smile at this politiq excursion, & perhaps at the *biscoctum* of the rest; whilst the yeares to which I am by God's greate goodnesse ariv'd, your L^p's com'ands in a former letter

to me, some conversation with men & the world, as well as books, in so large a tract & variety of events & wonders as this period has brought forth, might justifie one, among such crowds of pretenders to *ragioni di stato*, some of which I daily meete to come abroad with the shell still on their heads, who talke as confidently of these matters as if they were counsellors of state & first ministers, with their sapient, expecting looks, & whom none must contradict; and no doubt but (as Job said) "they are the people, and wisdom is to die with them." To such I have no more to say, whilst I appeale to y^r L^p, whose real & consum'ate experience, greate prudence & dexterity *in rebus agendis* without noise, were enough to silence a thousand such as I am. I therefore implore y^r pardon againe, for what I may have written weakely or rashly. In such a tempest & overgrown a sea, every body is concern'd, and whose head is not ready to turne? I am sure, I should myselfe almost despaire of the vessel, if any, save y^r L^p, were at the helme. But, whilst your hand is on the staff, & your eye upon the star, I compose myselfe & rest secure.

Surrey Street, 16 June, 1696.

To Mr. Place (Bookseller).

Mr. Place,

I have seriously consider'd y^r Letter concerning y^r resolution of sparing no cost whereby you may benefit the publiq, as well as recompence your owne charge & industry (which truely is a generous inclination, not so frequently met with amongst most book-sellers), by inquiring how you might possibly supply what is wanting to our Country (now beginning to be somewhat pollish'd in their manner of building, and indeede in the accomplishment of the English language also)

by the publication of whatever may be thought conducive to either. In order to this, you have sometime since acquainted me with y^r intention of reprinting the "Parallel;" desireing that I would revise it, and consider what improvements may decently be added in relation to y^r general designe. As for the Parallel, I take it to be so very usefull & perfect in its kind & as far as it pretends to (namely, all that was material in those Ten Masters upon the Orders), that I cannot think of any thing it further needes to render it more intelligible. As for what I have annex'd to it concerning statues, my good friend Mr. Gibbons would be consulted; and for the latter, so much as I conceive is necessary, I will take care to send you wth y^r interfoliated copy. In the meane time, touching that universal work, or cycle, which you would have comprehend and imbrace the intire art of building, together with all its accessories for magnificence & use, without obliging you to the paines in gleaning, when a whole harvest is before you, or the trouble of calling many to y^r assistance (which would be tedious), I cannot think of a better, more instructive, & judicious an expedient, than by your procuring a good & faithfull translation of that excellent piece which has lately been published by Monsieur D'Aviler; were he made to speak English in the proper termes of that art, by some person conversant in the French, and if neede be, adding to him some assistant, such as you would have recommended to me, if my leasure & present circumstances could have comply'd with my inclinations of promoting so beneficial a designe.

I should here enumerate the particulars he runs thro', in my opinion sufficiently copious, & in as polish'd, & yet as easy & familiar a style as the subject is capable of; in nothing exceeding the capacity of our ordinary workmen, or unworthy the study &

application of the noblest persons who employ them and to whom a more than ordinary & superficial knowledge in architecture is no small accomplishment. I say I should add the contents of his chapters, and the excellent notes he has subjoyn'd to a better version of Vignole, Mic. Angelo, & the rest of our most celebrated modern architects and their works ; together with all that is extant of antique, & yet in being, apply'd to use, & worthy knowing, if I thought you had not already heard of the book, since it has now ben 4 or 5 yeares extant, and since reprinted in Holland, as all the best & most vendible books are, to the greate prejudice of the authors, by their not only printing them without any errata, by which the reader might reform them, or (as if they had none at all) correcting the faults themselves : which indeede, that of the Paris edition (faire as it seemes, & is in the elegancy of the character) exceedingly will neede, before it be translated, by whomsoever taken in hand.

But as the letter and its other beauties exceede the Dutch edition, so do likewise the plates, which are don with that accuratnesse & care, as may almost com'ute for the oversights of the presse. I do not say the Holland Sculps are ill perform'd ; but tho' they seeme to be pretty well copied, they will yet require a strict examination, and then I think they might be made use of, & a competent number of plates (provided not overmuch worn) procured at a far easier rate out of Holland, than by having them perhaps not so well graven here ; for 'tis not the talent of every artist, tho' skill'd in heads & figures (of which we have very few), to trace the architect as he ought. But if they could be obtain'd from Paris, as happily with permission they might, it were much to be preferr'd. I forgot to tell you, that there is a most accurate, learned, & critical Dictionary by the same author, explaining (in a 2^d part) not onely the termes of archi-

itecture, but of all those other arts that waite upon, & are subservient to her, which is very curious.

And now, if what I have said in recommending this work for the full accomplishment of your laudable designe (& which in truth, I think, were abundantly sufficient) induce you to proceede in it, and that you would with it present the publiq with a much more elegant letter than I believe England has ever seene among all our printers ; perhaps it were worth your while to render it one of the first productions of that noble presse which my worthy & most learned friend D^r Bentley (his Ma^{ty}s Library-keeper at St. James's) is with greate charge & industrie erecting now at Cambridge.

There is another piece of mechanics, and some other very rare & usefull arts agreeable to this of architecture, & incomparably curious, which, if translated & joyn'd to y^e rest, would (without contradiction) render it a most desireable & perfect work. If when you passe this way, you will visite a lame man (who is oblig'd to stay within at present) I shall endeavour to satisfie you in any thing I may have omitted here, but the teasing you & myselfe with a tedious scribble (upon y^r late importunity before my leaving this town) which you may wish I had omitted.

Surrey-street, 17 Aug. 1696.

To Mr. Wotton.

Worthy Sir,

I should exceedingly mistake the person, and my owne discernment, could I believe M^r Wotton stood in the least neede of my assistance ; but such an expression of your's to one who so well knows his own imperfections as I do mine, ought to be taken for a reproche ; since I am sure it cannot proceede from y^r judgment. But forgiving this fault, I most

heartily thank you for y^r animadversion on *Sylva*; which, tho' I frequently find it so written for ξυλεια & υλη, wood, timber, wild & forest trees, yet indeede I think it more properly belongs to a promiscuous casting of severall things together, & as I think my L^d Bacon has us'd it in his "Natural History," without much regard to method. *Deleatur*, therefore, wherever you meete it.

Concerning the gardning and husbandry of the Antients, which is y^e inquirie (especialy of the first), that it had certainly nothing approaching y^e elegance of the present age, Rapinus (whom I send you) will abundantly satisfie you. The discourse you will find at the end of Hortorum, lib. 4^o. capp. 6. 7. What they cal'd their gardens were onely spacious plots of ground planted with platans & other shady trees in walks, & built about with porticos, xisti, & noble ranges of pillars, adorn'd with statues, fountaines, piscariæ, aviaries, &c. But for the flowry parterre, beds of tulips, carnations, auricula, tuberoses, jonquills, ranunculas, & other of our rare coronaries, we heare nothing of, nor that they had such store & variety of exotics, orangeries, myrtles, & other curious greenes; nor do I believe they had their orchards in such perfection, nor by far our furniture for the kitchen. Pliny indeede enumerates a world of vulgar plants & olitories, but they fall infinitely short of our physic gardens, books, and herbals, every day augmented by our sedulous botanists, & brought to us from all the quarters of the world. And as for their husbandry & more rural skill, of which the same author has written so many books in his Nat. History, especial lib. 17. 18. &c. you'l soone be judge what it was. They tooke great care indeede of their vines and olives, stercoreations, ingraftings, & were dilligent in observing seasons, the course of y^e stars, &c. and doubtlesse were very industrious; but when you shall

have read over Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladio, with the Greek Geoponics, I do not think you will have cause to prefer them before the modern agriculture, so exceedingly of late improv'd, for which you may consult & compare our old Tusser, Markham, y^e *Maison Rustic*, Hartlib, Walter Blith, the Philosophical Transactions, & other books, which you know better than my selfe.

I have turn'd down the page, whère poore Pulissy begins his persisting search. If you can suffer his prolix style, you will now & then light on things not to be despised. With him I send you a short Treatise concerning *Metals*, of S^r Hugh Platts, which perhaps you have not seene. I am sorry I have no more of those subjects here, having left the rest in my library at Deptford, & know not how to get them hither till I get thither.

S^r, I am in no hast for the returne of these, if they may be serviceable to you, but in no little paine for the trouble y^r civility to mine puts one, who knows so much better how to employ his time, than to mind the impertinence of, S^r, y^r, &c.

Wotton, 28 Oct. 1696.

To Dr. Richard Bentley.

Worthy D^r:

You have under your hands something of Mr. Wotton, whilst he has ben so kind as to offer me his help in looking over the typographical and other faults escaped in the last impression of the "*Silva*," which I am most earnestly call'd upon to reprint. The copy which I frankly gave about 30 years since to Allestry, is now in the hands of Chiswell and your namesake Mr. Bentley (Booksellers), who have sold off three impressions, & are now impatient for the fourth: and it having ben no vnprofitable copy to

them, I had promised some considerable improvements to it, vpon condition of letting Ben: Tooke (for whom I have a particular kindnesse) into a share. This, tho' with reluctancy, they at last consented to. I will endeavour to render it with advantage, and have ambition enough to wish, that since it is a folio, & of so popular and usefull a subject as has procured it some reputation, it might have the honor to beare the character of Dr. Bentley's new Imprimerie, which, I presume, the proprietors will be as proud of as my selfe. To the reproch of Place, who made so many difficulties about my booke of architecture as you well know, I have however made very considerable additions to that treatise, as far as concernes my part, & meane to dedicate it to S^r Christopher Wren, his Ma^{ties} Surveyor & Intendent of his Buildings, as I did the other part to S^r J. Denham his predecessor, but infinitely inferior to his successor. I confesse I am foolishly fond of these & other rustications, which had ben my swete diuersions during the dayes of destruction and devastation both of woods and buildings, whilst the rebellion lasted so long in this nation: and the kind receptions my bookes have found makes me the more willing to give them my last hand: sorry in the meane time for all my other aberrations in pretending to meddle with things beyond my talent *et extra oleo*: but enough of this.

Wotton, 20 Jany 1696-7.

To Dr. Bentley.

Worthy D^r:

Tho' I made hast out of town, and had so little time to spend after we parted, I was yet resolv'd not to neglect the province which I undertook, as far as I had any interest in S^r Ed: Seymour, whom I found at his house, & had full scope of discourse with. I

told him I came not to petition the revival of an old title, or the unsettlement of an estate, so often of late interrupting our late Parliaments, but to fix and settle a publiq benefit¹ that would be of greate & universal good & glory to the whole nation. This (with y^r paper) he very kindly and obligingly receiv'd, & that he would contribute all the assistance that lay in his power, whenever it should come to the House. To send you notice of this, I thought might be much more acceptable to you than to acquaint you that we are full of company, & already enter'd into a most dissolute course of eating & indulging, according to the mode of antient English hospitality; by which meanes I shall now & then have opportunity of recom'ending the noble designe you are intent upon, & therefore wish I had some more of the printed proposals to disperse. S^r Cyril Wyche, who accompanied me hither, is altogether transported with it, & thinks the project so discreetly contriv'd, that it cannot miscarry. Here is D^r Fuller with his spouse. The D^r gave us a sermon this morning, in an elegant and trim discourse on the 39. Psalm, which I find had ben prepar'd for the court, & fitter for that audience than our poore country churches. After this you will not expect much intelligence from hence, tho' I shall every day long to heare of y^e progresse you make in this glorious enterprize, to which I augure all successe & prosperity, & am,

Worthy D^r, y^r &c.

Wotton, 25 Dec. 1697.

To Dr. Godolphin, Provost of Eton.

Wotton, 8 Feb. 1697-8.

Had you ben in towne when my copys [on Medals] were distributed among my friends, the small

¹ The new library to be built in St. James's Park. J. E.

present which I presum'd to send you, had ben brought by y^r most humble servant with an apology for my boldnesse in obtruding upon the Provost of Eton (who is himselfe so greate a judge of that and all other learned subjects) my meane performance. It were quite to tire you out, should I relate on what occasion I came to be ingaged on a topic on which I could advance so little of my owne to extenuate my presumption : yet give me leave to take hold of this opportunity to discharge a debt owing to yourselfe, and those of your learned relations who condescend to reade my book. 'Tis now neere fifty yeares past since Gabr. Naudæus publish'd directions concerning librarys and their furniture, which I had translated, minding to reprint it, as what I conceiv'd might not be unseasonable whilst auctions were become so frequent among us, and gentlemen every where storing themselves with bookes at those learned marts ; & because it was so very thinn a volume, I thought of annexing a sheete or two of Medals, as an appendant not improper. But being persuaded to say something of our modern Medals relating to our country (as France and Holland had of theirs) I found it swell to so incompetent a bulk, as would by no meanes suit with that treatise. Whilst I was about this (and indeed often and long before) I had ben importun'd to make a second edition of my Chalcography (now grown very scarce) and to bring it from 1662, where I left off, to this time, there having since that ben so greate an improvement of Sculpture. This being a task I had no inclination for (having of a long time given over collections of that sort) I thought yet of gratifying them in some manner with an ex-chapter in my Discourse of Medals, where I speake of the effigies of famous persons, and the use which may be deriv'd of such a collection, and that which follows it.—'Tis now a good while ago since first I put it

into the hands of a book-seller, with strict injunction not to work off a sheete 'til it had ben revis'd by abler judgments than my owne; and so remain'd whilst the Medals could be collected that were to be grav'n, which tho' hardly amounting to an hundred, were with difficulty enough procur'd in two yeares time. This slow proceeding, together with my long & frequent excursions att this distance from towne, made me absolutely resolv'd to abandon and think of it no further, but give it up to the book-seller to dispose of it for wast paper, when he would needes perswade me that he had such an accomplish'd supervisor of the presse he imploy'd, as would do me all the right I could expect from an able & learned man; and that now he had ben at such charges for the sculptures, I should extreamly injure him to withdraw my copy, & what I had to annex, as certainly I should [have done] but for that consideration only. So as I had now no remedy left me but by imbarquing the errata to my greater reproch, & it was very slender comfort to me the being told that even the most incomparably learned Spanheim, whose glorious work of medals was not long since reprinted, scap'd not the presse without remarkable and cruel scarrs.

But now I mention'd the noble Spanheim (to whose judgment all deferr) I may haply be censur'd for what I have said concerning *Etiminus*, after what he has objected against that Medal (de præst. Numis : Rep : 647); but if I was, and still am, unwilling to degrade our renowned Citty of her so Metropolitan dignity, whilst I had any to stand by me, I cannot be so deeply concern'd, and indeed asham'd, should any think me so ignorant as not long-since to know that *obryzum* signifys gold of the most exalted purity & test, or, as the ancients express'd, *ad obrussam exactum*, which yet, I know not

how, escap'd me when I was gathering out the errata. [As for CONOB, tho' I ever read it *Constantinople*, the extreame rudenesse of a reverse and metal I had shew'd me of that coine, so perfectly resembling that of *Cuno*, might favour my conjecture.¹]

There is in margine, p. 207, a mistake of *Rich-borow* for *Regulbium*, which also escap'd me.

But, Sir, there are so many more & greater faults as put me out of countenance, for which & this tedious scribble I heartily beg your pardon, who am, &c.

Mr. W. Wotton to J. Evelyn.

Milton, near Newport Pagnell,
Bucks, Jan. 2, 1697-8.

Hon^d S^r,

When I was in town last moneth I did myself the honour to call at your lodgings, but was not so happy as to find you at home. I intended to acquaint you what progress I had made in a design w^{ch} owes its birth wholly to your encouragement. After a positive promise from y^e executors that I should have y^e use of Mr. Boyle's papers, my Lord Burlington at last insisted upon my giving a bond that I demanded no gratification. I had voluntarily given a note to y^e same purpose, w^{ch} Dr. Bentley sufficiently blamed me for : but I gave no bond, & so left the town (tho' I had come up on purpose about this business) doubtful what further I should doe. But since I came home, my Lord Burlington is come over, so far that

¹ In the following letter to Mr. Henshaw, the latter part of which is almost a transcript of the above, this sentence is thus expressed : " I found the period omitted, p. 22. w^{ch} sho^d have been read, mixt & obrize sort also, which has on it a horse rudely design'd with the letters *CON-OB*. *Constantinopoli obrizatum*, w^{ch} some will have to signify *Cōstantinople* only—others, some Prince of ours."

he has delivered up my note, & has ordered all y^e papers to be delivered to my order, with a promise to me of all manner of assistance & encouragement. So that now I intend to dedicate all my spare howrs to this business; & then, S^r, as you have hitherto prevented my desires, so again I fear I must be importunate in troubling you with new doubts & queries w^{ch}, in the progress of the work, will infallibly arise. I am glad to find that we may so soon expect your long-desired work about Medals, from which I propose no small entertainment to myself, as soon as it appeares.

I am, hon^d S^r,
Your most obliged & most humble serv^t,
W. WOTTON.

Shall I not wish you & your excellent lady many happy new yeares? No body, I am sure, do's it more cordially.

Mr. W. Wotton to J. Evelyn.

Milton, Bucks, Jan. 20, 1697-8.

Honored S^r,

Duty & gratitude requiring me to give you a second interruption in a short time, I think I ought to make no apology. Not long since I did myself the honour to acquaint you with y^e success of my affaire about Mr. Boyle's life. I knew you would be pleased to hear that I had weathered that difficulty, since you had been my first to that work. I had just got a box of papers, & was going to digest matters for the forge, when I was agreeably stopp'd by your admirable Numismata, w^{ch} the last return of the carrier brought me. I needed no spur to read it; y^e author, y^e subject, added wings to my diligence. Dr. Bentley had raised my thirst by the essay he had given me before in conversation.

Yet these three incitements, & I know not three more powerful, all gave place to a fourth, which was y^e book itself. I was so truly charmed, so pleasingly taught thro' the whole work, that y^e grief of being so soon at an end, wrought as violently at last as the joy I felt as I went along. The printer, indeed, raised my indignation; I was angry with him, & troubled to see my pen so often disfigure so elegant a book. However, I took care to have no remotas for the future, when upon a second & third reading (w^{ch} yet will scarce suffice) I hope every thing shall be rivetted in my head, w^{ch} a first reading in so vast a copia could not carry along with it. My head is so very full of what I have learned & am to learn by your instructions, that I had almost forgotten to thank you for your honourable mention of my poor performances in so standing a work. This was more than I ought to have promised myself. The field I chose was vast & uncultivated, nobler & learned will hereafter arise who will till it to more advantage, & reap a richer harvest. I proposed but to outdoe Glanvill, & to set Mons^r Perrault & S^r William Temple right, w^{ch} now, Sir, I ought for your sake to believe I have performed. I am pleased likewise with your quoting of me, even when in all probability you knew nothing of the matter. My first essay at loading the world with my scribbles, was in the Philos. Trans. (a place since fatal to me for a reason you are not ignorant of), and it was in *re metallica*. My most honoured friend y^e late S^r Philip Skippon, who had a noble cabinet of Medals, w^{ch} he thoroughly understood, sent me an account of some Saxon coyns found in Suffolke, which I printed with some remarks of my own in y^e Transact. N^o 187, with the initial letters of both our names. The new editor of Camden took no notice of these coyns, tho I gave them warning, & tho there are some

there w^{ch} are not in their collection. You have been pleased to referr to them, for w^{ch}, Sir, I am bound to express my thanks. But this is not all. I have been censured heavily for blaming S^r W. T.'s Delphos, & substituting Delphi in its place. Your authority will now (if I am publickly a) decide y^e controversy. I am opposed with an authority of a Medal in F. Hardouin's Num'i Urbium, with this inscription, ΔΕΛΦΟΥ, y^e genitive, say they, of Delphos, y^e nominative of the name of the city. I use to reply that it was the genitive of *Delphus*, Apollo's son, mentioned by severall of y^e ancients; w^{ch} explication you confirm, p. 189, where you inform these cavallers, that Εἰκὼν or Νομισμα, is understood. 'Tis time to release you; onely pray, Sir, do me the favor at your leisure to inform me, whether there is ever another Coyne published with the Bipennis Tenedia upon it, besides that w^{ch} John Graves printed in his Roman Denarius. I could say abundance more, but my paper tells me what I have farther to say, that

I am, your most obliged serv^t,
W. WOTTON.

For the Honored John Evelyn, Sen^t, Esq.
at Wotton, near Dorkinge, in Surrey.

To Mr. Henshaw.

Wotton, 1 Mar. 1697-8.

The bearer hereof, Dr. Hoy, a very learned, curious, and ingenious person (& our neighbour in Surrey), acquainted (as who is not?) with the name & greate worth of Mr. Henshaw, hearing that I had the honor to be known to you, desires me to introduce him; I neede say no more how worthy he is to be let into your esteeme, than to acquaint you how

deservedly we value him here in this country, not only for his profession & succeſſe, but for thoſe other excellent talents w^{ch} were ever encourag'd by your free & generous communications. And in this I ſerve myſelf alſo, by taking the occaſion to preſent the moſt humble ſervice of a now old acquaintance, begun long ſince abroad, & cultivated ever ſince by the continuance of your friendship thro' many revolutions. I frequently call to mind the many bright & happy moments we have paſſ'd together at Rome and other places, in viewing & contemplating the entertainments of travellers who go not abroad to count ſteeples, but to improve themſelves. I wiſh I could ſay of myſelf ſo as you did; but whenever I thinke of the agreeable toile we tooke among the ruines & antiquitys, to admire the ſuperb buildings, viſite the cabinets & curioſitys of the virtuosi, the ſweete walkes by the banks of the Tiber, the Via Flaminia, the gardens & villas of that glorious city, I call back the time, & methinks growing yonge againe, the opera we ſaw at Venice comes into my fancy, and I am ready to ſing, *Gioconda Gioiretri—memoria ſola tū—con ramento m' l fu—ſpeſſo ſpeſſo vien a rapir mi, e qual che ſi ſia ancor ringiovenir mi.* You remember, Sir, the reſt, and we are both neere the concluſion, *hai che non torni, non torni piu—moi—ri—bondo.*

Forgive me, Sir, this tranſport, & when this gent: takes his leave of you, permit me to beg your pardon alſo for the preſumption I am guilty of, in obtruding a Diſcourſe of Medals on one who is ſo greate a maſter & ſo knowing, and from whoſe example I ſometimes diverted to that ſtudy. 'Tis now neere fifty yeares, &c.

[The reſt of the letter is nearly the ſame as the preceding, ſee p. 18.]

To Archdeacon Nicolson, Dean of Carlisle.

10 Nov. 1699.

After thanking him for the tendernesse and civility with which he had mentioned his book on Medals, Mr. Evelyn says :—

“ You recommend the study of our own municipal lawes & home antiquitys, most becoming an Englishman & lover of his country, which you have skilfully deriv'd from the fountaine, & trackt thro' all those windings & meanders w^{ch} rendered the study generally deserted as dull & impolite, unlesse by those who, attractd by more sordid considerations, submitted to a fatigue which fill'd indeede their purses for the noyse they made at Westmin^r Hall, whilst their heads were empty, even of that to which they seem'd to devote themselves. Did our Inns of Court Students come a little better grounded in ethics & with some entrance into the civil law, such an History as you are meditating would leade them on with delight, & inable them to discover & penetrate into the grounds of natural justice & human prudence, & furnish them with matter to adorn their pleadings, before they wholly gave themselves up to learn to wrangle & the arts of illaqueation, & not make such haste to precedents, costomes, & common-places. By reading good history they would come to understand how governments have ben settl'd, by conquest, transplantations, colonys or garrisons thro' all vicissitudes & revolutions, from east to west, from the first monarchy to the last ; how laws have ben establish'd, & for what reasons chang'd & alter'd ; whence our holding by knight's service, & whether feudal laws have ben deriv'd from Saxon or Norman. 'Tis pity young gentlemen should meete with so little of this in the course of their academic studys, at least if it

continue as in my time, when they were brought up to dispute on dry questions which nauceat generous spirits, & to discourse of things before they are furnish'd with mediums & so retorne home rather with the learning of a Benedictine Monk (full of scholastic) than of such usefull knowledge as would inable them to a dexterity in solving cases, how intricate soever, by analytics & so much of algebra as teaches to draw consequences & detect paralogisms & fallacies, which were the true use of logic, & which you give hopes our Universitys are now designing. To this I would add the improvement of the more ornate & gracefull manner of speaking upon occasion. The fruit of such an education would not onely grace & furnish the bar with excellent lawyers, but the nation with able persons fit for any honorable imployment, to serve & speake in Parliaments & in Councils: give us good magistrates & justices for reference at home in the country: able ambassadors & orators abroad; in a word, qualified patriots & pillars of state, in which this age does not I feare abound. In the meane time what preference may be given to our constitutions I dare not determine, but as I believe ethics & the civile law were the natural mother of all good laws, so I have ben told that the best lawyers of England were heretofore wont to mix their studys together with them, but which are at present so rarely cultivated, that those who passe forsooth for greate sages & oracles therein were not onely shamefully defective, but even in the feudal & our owne.

You are speaking, Sir, of records, but who are they among this multitude even of the coife, who either study or vouchsafe to defile their fingers with any dust, save what is yellow? or know any thing of records save what, upon occasion, they lap out of S^r Edw. Coke basin, & some few others? The

thirst of gaine takes up their whole man ; like our English paynters, who, greedy of getting present money for their work, seldom arive to any farther excellency in the art than face-painting, & have no skill in perspective, sym'etry, the principles of designe, or dare undertake to paint history.

Upon all these considerations then, I cannot but presage the greate advantage your excellent book, and such an history, may produce, when our young gentlemen shall ripen their studys by those excellent methods. At least there will not likely appeare such swarms & legions of obstreperous lawyers as yearly emerge out of our London seminaries, *omnium doctorum indoctissimum genus* (for the most part) as Erasmus truly styles them.

Concerning the Paper Office, I wish those instruments and state arcana had ben as faithfully & constantly transmitted to that usefull magazin as they ought ; but tho' S^r Jos : Williamson tooke paines to reduce things into some order, so miserably had they ben neglected and rifled during the Rebellion, that at the Restoration of Char. II. such were the defects, that they were as far to seeke for precedents, authentiq & original treatys, negotiations, & other transactions formerly made with Foraine States & Princes, dispatches & instructions to Ambassadors, as if there had never before ben any correspondence abroad. How that office stands at present I know not ; but this I do know, that abundance of those dispatches & papers you mention, & which ought to centre there, have ben carried away both by the Secretarys of State themselves (when either dismiss'd or dying, & by Ambass^{rs} & other Ministers when recall'd,) into the country, & left to their heires as honorable marks of their ancestors employments. Of this sort I had formerly divers considerable bundles concerning transactions of state

during the ministry of the greate Earle of Leycester, all the reigne of Q. Elizth, containing divers original letters from the Q. herselfe, from Mary Q. of Scots, Cha. IX. and Hen. IV. of France, Maximilian the 2d Emp., Duke of Norfolk, Ja: Stewart Regent of Scotland, Marq. of Montrose, S^r W^m Throckmorton, Randolfe, S^r Fra: Walsingham (whom you mention), Sec. Cecill, Mr. Barnaby, Sir J. Hawkins, Drake, Fenton, Matt. Parker Archb. of Cant^y, Edwyn Bp. of London, the Bp. of Winchester, Bp. Hooper, &c. From abroad: Tremelius and other Protestant Divines, Parquiou, Spinola, Ubaldino, and other com'anders, with divers Italian Princes; and of ladys, the Lady Mary Grey, Cecilia Princesse of Sweden, Ann Countesse of Oldenburgh, the Dutchesse of Somerset, & a world more. But what most of all, & still afflicts me, those letters & papers of the Q. of Scots, originals & written wth her own hand to Q. Eliz. & Earle of Leycester, before & during her imprisonment, which I furnish'd to Dr. Burnet, (now Bp. of Salisb.), some of which being printed in his History of the Reformation, those, & others with them, are pretended to have ben lost at the presse, which has bin a quarrell betweene me & his L^p, who lays the fault on Chiswell,¹ but so as between them I have lost the originals, which had now ben safe records as you will find in that History. The rest I have named I lent to his countryman the late Duke of Lauderdale, who honouring me with his presence in y^e country, and after dinner discoursing of a Maitland (ancestor of his) of whom I had several letters impaqueted with many others, desired I would trust him with them for a few days; it is now more than a few years past, that being put off from time to time, til the death of his Grace, when his library was selling, my letters & papers could no where be found

¹ Printer or publisher.

or recover'd, so as by this tretchery my collection being broken, I bestowed the remainder on a worthy and curious friend¹ of mine, who is not likely to trust a S—— with any thing he values.

But, S^r, I quite tire you with a rhapsody of imperinences, beg your pardon, and remain," &c.

Among the errata of the Numismata, but of w^{ch} I immediately gave an account in the Philos. Transactions, the following were thus to have been read : p. 22. l. n. 22—*mixt* as well as *obrized*² sort in the margin, for such a metal is mention'd by Aldus (of Valentinian) with *CONOB* : which he reads,—*Constantinopoli Obrizatum*, belonging, he says, to Count Landus : v: Aldus Manut. Notar: Exp'ta, p. 802. Venet. CI.D.IX.XCI. & p. 51. l. q. r. *Etiminius* : Spanheime indeed is suspicious of this medal, but I was unwilling to degrade our metropolis of the honor. P. 202 in margin r. *Regulbium* (with innumerable more).

Sir,

I know not whether Sir Jo: Hoskins, Sir R. Southwell, Mr. Waller, and Dr. Harwood (who is concern'd in what I have said of *Taille Douce*) and the rest (on whom I have obtruded books) would have the patience of Mr. Hill, to read my lett^r, when you meete at y^e learned Coffee-Club, after they are gon from Gressham.

W. Wotton to J. Evelyn.

Jan. 22, 1701-2.

Honored S^r,

The kind notice you have been pleased to take of my poor performances gives me a satisfaction w^{ch} few things in the world could have equalled. Few authors,

¹ Qu. Mr. Pepys?

² *Obryzum* signifies gold of the most exalted purity. J. E.

I believe, are so entirely disengaged from the world, as to be proof against applause even from com'on readers : but y^e approbation of great masters is y^e highest reward any writer ought to look for. I am sure my time has not been mispent since Mr. Evelyn has past so favorable a judgment upon what I have been doing. It encourages me also to go on with Mr. Boyle's Life, for w^{ch} I have been so long indebted to y^e public. I have now all the materials I am to expect, and intend with all convenient speed to digest them into such an order as may make them at hand when I shall use them.

His works having been epitomated by Mr. Bolton after a sort, I am at a losse whether I shall interweave a kind of a system of his philosophy into y^e Life as I at first designed, or only relate matters of fact. In that matter I shall be guided by my friends ; especially your judgment I shall long for, if you will do me the honor to give it me ; and then I am sure to make no mistake. The work, I am sure, will please me ; if I fall not short of my subject I shall be glad.

I am extreamly sorry y^t the greediness of some people hath driven you to cutt any part of those charming groves that made Wotton so delicious a seat. What, are those woods behind y^e house towards Leith-Hill cut down ? If they are, the greatest ornament of y^e finest county in England is gone. But I hope better ; and do not know if God spares my life, but I may wait upon you this sum'er at Wotton, and then I shall inform myself.

That God Almighty may long preserve you to your family, and continue to make young Mr. Evelyn what he promises, and you desire, is the hearty praier of,

Honored S^r,
Your most obliged and most faith^l serv^t,
W. WOTTON.

I beg leave to present my humblest service to your lady. I have the same intelligence concerning Mr. Hare that you have.

Mr. W. Wotton to J. Evelyn.

Jan. 23, 1703.

Honored S^r,

When I see two letters of your's before me, and both unanswered, it fills me with confusion. I ought not to be so insensible of y^e honor you do me by your correspondence; an honor w^{ch} I shall never be able sufficiently to acknowledge; tho' I confess it is with the extremest pleasure that I think I shall ere long tell y^e world that I have had the happiness to be known to so great an ornament of our age and nation as Mr. Evelyn.

Your last papers have cleared some doubts w^{ch} I was in concerning Mr. Boyle's family, and some still remain. I want to know whether S^r Geoffry Fenton was not Secretary of State; I think he was. S^r W^m Petty's will I have got a copy of. I have many other things to ask you, of w^{ch} you will in a short time have a list. You encourage me, Sir, to come to you; I will labour that you shan't repent.

I received last post two letters out of Surrey, one from D^r Duncombe, of Shere, y^e other from Mr. Randyll, of Chilworth, in behalf of one Mr. Banister, Vicar of Wonersh, a small vicarage just by Albury. It seems one Steer, of Nudigate, has left an exhibition for a poor scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. Now Mr. Banister has with great difficulty bred up a son whom he desygns for y^e University, and hopes he shall procure this exhibition. But that will be a slender support. I am solicited therefore to desire D^r Bentley to look favorably upon him if he shall deserve it. There are very many ways by w^{ch} a

master of such a house may assist a promising lad whose fortune is narrow. I intend to send a letter to the master by the lad when he goes up, and I take the boldness to say all this to you, because I have reason to think it will be esteemed by Mr. Randyll and Dr. Duncomb (whose family are patrons of that vicarage) as an exceeding great obligation, if you will vouchsafe to interpose with our friend in this lad's behalf. Many a boy who struggles at his first entry into y^e world proves afterwards a very considerable man. Dr. Duncomb says the child is qualified to go to Cambridge. My wife desires to have her most humble service presented to Mrs. Evelyn. I am,

Honored S^r,
Your most obed^t and faithfull serv^t,
W. WOTTON.

For John Evelyn, Esq. at his house in Dover Street,
near St. James's Street, Westminster.

W. Wotton to J. Evelyn.

Milton, Aug. 13, 1703.

Hon^d S^r,

It is now so long time since I first mentioned to you my design of giving some account to y^e world of y^e life and writings of Mr. Boyle, that I question not but you have long since looked upon it as a vain brag of an impertinent fellow, who when he had once appeared in public, thought he might be always trespassing upon their patience. The discouragements I met with since I undertook it were so many, that I have often wished that I had let it alone or never thought of it. And I was ordered to pursue another scent by y^e Bishop of Salisbury, w^{ch} it pleased God to make unsuccessful. However my design has long been resumed, and every day I do something to it.

Next spring I hope to wait upon you in Dover Street, and shew you what I have done. I am sensible I am a slow and a lazy writer, and since y^e public can well spare me and what I shall ever do, it is no great harm if I am dilatory. But since you, Sir, were the first *εργοδιωκτης* to me in this affair, and were pleased so far to flatter me, as to make me hope y^e world would (upon Mr. Boyle's account) pardon what I should say, I must take y^e freedom to be yet farther troublesome to you. By your letter of March 29, 1696, I am encouraged to trouble you, and for that letter I again must thank you, since notwithstanding the notices w^{ch} Mr. Boyle's own papers and y^e Bp. of Sarum's hints have given me, I found your informations so usefull, that without them my work would be very lame. I beg therefore of you farther,

1. An account of Mr. Hartlib: what country-man: what his employment? in short, a short Eloge of him, and his writings and designs, with an account of the time of his death.

2. The like of y^e beginnings of S^r W^m Petty. Those two were very great with Mr. Boyle before y^e Restorac'on.

3. Do you know any thing of one Clodius¹ a chymist? Was he (or who was) Mr. Boyle's first master in that art?

4. What was the affinity between your Lady's family and Mr. Boyle? What son of that family was it that lies buried in Deptford Church? and particularly all you can gather of the old Earl of Cork's original. Was S^r Geoffry Fenton Secretary of State in Ireland; if not, what was his employment? Did not he translate Guicciardini into English?

5. In what year began your acquaintance with Mr. Boyle? I find l^{res} of yours to him in 1657. Have you any letters of his; and would you spare

¹ Claudius.

me the use of them? they should be returned to you with thousands of thanks.

I think, Sir, you will look upon these as queries enough for one time. It is in your power to make my work perfect, and y^e obligations I shall have thereby, tho' they can't well add to those you have conferr'd already, yet they will give me a new title to subscribe myself,

Honored S^r,

Your most obedient & most obliged servant,
W. WOTTON.

My wife and I desire our services to be most humbly offered to Mad^m Evelyn.

Pray was S^r Maurice Fenton¹ (whose widow S^r W. Petty married) a descendant of S^r Geofry's? or what else do you know of him?

In one of your l^{res} to Mr. B. you mention a Chymico-Mathematico-Mechanical Schole designed by Dr. Wilkins: what farther do you know about it?

Copy to Mr. Wotton, in answer to one of his in order to the History of the Life of Mr. Boyle, &c. which I first put him upon.

Wotton, 12 Sept. 1703.

Worthy Sir,

I had long ere this given you an account of y^{rs} of the 13th past (which yet came not to me 'til the 20th), if a copy of the inscription you mention, and which I had long since among my papers, could it have ben found, upon diligent search; but lost I believe (with other book-notes) upon my remove hither, *cum pannis*. To supply which, it is now above ten days past that I sent to Dr. Stanhope (Vicar of Deptford)

¹ A question partly founded on a mistake of names, Evelyn having added, "Felton it should be."

to send me a fresh transcript : but hearing nothing from him hitherto, I believe my letter might not come to his hands, and now a servant of mine (who looks after my little concerns in that place) tells me the D^r is at Tunbridge drinking the waters ; and perhaps my letter may lie dormant at his house, expecting his returne : upon this accident and interruption, unwilling you should remain any longer in suspense, or think me negligent or indifferent in promoting so desirable a work, I send you this in the meane time.

To the first of your quæries, Mr. Hartlib was, I think, a Lithuanian, who coming for refuge hither to avoid the persecution in his country, with much industry recommended himselfe to many charitable persons, and among the rest to Mr. Boyle, by communicating to them many secrets in chymistry, and improvements of agriculture, and other useful novelties by his general correspondence abroad, of which he has published several Treatises : besides this, he was not unlearned ; zealous, and religious, with so much latitude as easily recommended him to the godly party then governing, among whom (as well as Mr. Boyle and others, who us'd to pity and cherish strangers,) he found no small subsistance during his exile. I had very many letters from him, and often relieved him. Claudius, whom you next inquire after, was his son in law, a profess'd adeptus, who by the same *methodus mendichandi* and pretence of extraordinary arcana, insinuated himselfe into acquaintance of his father-in-law : but when or where either of them died (though I think poor Hartlib's was of the stone), or what became of them I cannot tell ; no more than I can who innitiated Mr. Boyle among the Spagyrist, before I had the honour to know him ; though I conjecture it was whilst he resided at Oxford after his return from travel, where there was

then a famous assemblage of virtuosi : Dr. Bathurst of Trinity, Dickinson of Merton, Wren, now Sir Christopher, Dr. Scarburgh, Seth Ward (afterwards Bishop of Sarum), and especially Dr. Wilkins (since Bishop of Chester) : the head of Wadham Coll : where these and other ingenious persons used to meete to promote the study of the new philosophy, which has since obtained. It was in that Colledge where I think there was an elaboratory, and other instruments mathematical, mechanical, &c. which perhaps might be that you speake of as a schole : and so lasted till the Revolution following. This, Sir, is the best account I can at present render you, having since lost so many of my worthy friends, who might possibly have informed me better.

As to the date of my first acquaintance with this honourable gentleman, it sprung from a courteous visit he made me at my house in Deptford, which as I constantly repayed, so it grew reciprocal and familiar ; divers letters passing between us at first in civilities and the style peculiar to him upon the least sense of obligation : but these compliments lasted no longer than till we became perfectly acquainted, and had discovered our inclination of cultivating the same studies and designes, especially in y^e search of natural and usefull things ; my selfe then intent on collections of notes in order to an History of Trades and other mechanical furniture, which he earnestly encouraged me to proceed with : so that our intercourse of letter was now only upon y^t account, and were rather so many receipts and processes, than letters. What I gathered of this nature (and especially for the improvement of planting and gardening ; my Sylva and what else I published on that subject, being but part of that worke, (a plan whereof is mentioned in my late Acetaria,) would astonish you, did you see the bundles and packets, amongst

other things in my *chartaphylacia* here, promiscuously ranged among multitudes of papers, letters, and other matters, divine, political papers, poetry, &c. some as old as the reign of Henry VIII. (my Wife's ancestors having ben Treasurers of y^e Navy to the reigne of Q. Eliz:) and exceedingly encreased by my late Father in law, S^r R. Brown's grandfather, who had the first employment under the greate Earl of Leicester, Governor of the Low Countries in the same Queen's reign, and of S^r Richard Brown's dispatches during his 19 years' residence in the Court of France, whither he was sent by Charles the I. and continued by his successor. But to return from this digression: this design and apparatus on severall other subjects and extravagances growing beyond my forces, was left imperfect upon the Restoration of the banished King, when every body expected a new world, and had other things in view, than what the melancholy dayes of his eclipse suggested to passe away anxious thoughts, by those innocent employments I have mentioned. So as this Revolution and my Father in law's attendance at Court (being eldest Cleark of the Counsel) obliging me to be almost perpetually in London, the intercourse of formal letters (frequent visits, and constant meetings at Gressham Colledge succeeding,) was very seldom necessary; some I have yet by me, but such as can be of no importance to your noble work, one of which excepted, in answer to my returning him my thanks for sending me his Seraphic Love; which is long and full of civility, and so may passe for compliment with the rest, long since mingled among my other packets.

I can never give you so accurate an account of Sir W^m Petty (which is another of your inquiries) as you'll find in his own will, that famous & extraordinary piece (which I am sure cannot have escaped you), wherein he has omitted nothing concerning his

owne simple birth, life, & wonderful progresse he made to arrive at so prodigious a fortune, as he has left his relations. Or if I could say more of it, I would not deprive you of the pleasure you must needes receive in reading it often.

The only particular I find he has taken no notice of, is the misadventure of his double-bottomed keel, which yet perishing in the tempestuous Bay of Biscay (where his other vessels were lost in the same storm) ought not at all reproach perhaps the best & most usefull mechanist in the world : for such was this *faber fortunæ*, S^r W^m Petty. I need not acquaint you with his recovering a certaine criminal young wench, who had ben hanged at Oxon ; & being begg'd for a dissection he recovered to life, & (who) was afterward married, had children, & survived it 15 yeares. These among many other things very extraordinary, made him deservedly famous, & for several engines & inventions, not forgetting the expeditious method by which (getting to be the surveyor of the whole kingdom of Ireland) teaching ignorant soldiers to assist in the admeasurement, & reserving to himselfe the aikers assigned him for his reward : and the dispatch which gained him the favour of impatient soldiers, whose pay & arreres was to be out of the pretended forfeited estates, gave him opportunity to purchase their lots & debentures for little, which he got confirmed after y^e Restoration. This was the foundation of the vast estate he since enjoyed. I need not tell you of his computations in what was published under the name of Mr. Graunt concerning the Bills of Mortality. And that with all this he was politely learned, a wit & a poet (see his Paraphrase on Psalm 104, &c.) ; & was the most charming and instructing conversation in the world. But all these excellent talents of his, rather hindered than advanced his applications at Court, where the

wretched favourites (some of whom for their virtue one "would not have set with the dogs of the flock," & some who yet sat at the helm) afraid of his abilities, stopt his progress there: nor indeed did he affect it, being to my observation and long acquaintance, a man of sincerity and infinitely industrious. Nothing was too hard for him. I mentioned his poetry, but said nothing of his preaching, which tho rarely and when he was in perfect humour to divert his friends he would hold forth in tone and action; passing from the Court pulpit to the Presbyterian, and then the Independent, Anabaptist, Quaker, Fanatique, Frier, and Jesuit, as entertained the company to admiration, putting on the person of those sectarys with such variety and imitation, that it coming to be told the King, they prevail'd with him to shew his faculty one day at Court, where declaiming upon the vices of it, and miscarriages of the great ones, so verily as he needed not to name them, particularly the misgovernment of Ireland, as (tho' it diverted the King, who bare raillery the best in the world) so touched the Duke of Ormond there present & made him so unruly, as S^r W^m perceiving it, dextrously altered his style into a calmness and composure exceed^v admirable. One thing more (which possibly you may not have heard of) was his answering a challenge of S^r Allen Brodrick (in great favour with my Lord Chancellor), and it being the right of the apellant's antagonist to choose the place and name the weapon; he named the lists and field of battle to be in a dust cellar, and the weapon hatchets, himselfe being purblind, and not so skillfull at the rapier; and so it concluded in a feast. But after all this, this poor, rich, and wonderfull man, and an excellent physician also, was suddenly taken away, by a gangrene in his leg, it seems, too long neglected, a few days after we had dined together in cheerful,

company. The coate armor which he chose and allways depicted on his coach, &c. was a mariner's compass, the style pointing to the polar star, the crest a beehive, if I remember well, the *lemma operosa et sedula*, than which nothing could be more apposite. And now I am extremely sensible of my detaining you so long, in giving you rather the history of S^r W^m Petty instead of satisfying your inquiry concerning his lady, and who married the widdow of S^r Maurice *Felton* (not Fenton), a Norfolk family, daughter of that arch rebel S^r Hardresse Waller, a great commander in Ireland, by whom he had 3 or 4 children, to whom he left vast fortunes. This wife is yet living, a very stately dame, in one of the state-liest palaces of that citty.

But now, asking you pardon againe for this (perhaps impertinent) aberration, I returne to Mr. Boyle, who had besides all we have enumerated, that were his acquaintance and admirers, the Lord Viscount Brouncker, first President of the Royal Society ; that worthy person and honest Scot, Col. W. Murray ; the famous S^r Kenelm Digby ; Dr. Godard ; and of later date, Dr. Burnet, now Bishop of Sarum, and generally all strangers and learned persons, pretending to chymistry, & other uncommon arts : nor did any Ambassador from abroad think he had seene England till he had visited Mr. Boyle.

As to the affinity and relation of my Wife's family to Mr. Boyle's, take the following account, she received from that most religious and excellent lady, his niece, the late Countess of Clancarty ; who coming down one day to visite my Father-in-law, S^r R^d Browne, who lay incommoded with the gout, and sitting by his bed side, upon some casual discourse of her family, and how they allways esteemed him as of kindred, related this pretty passage of a kinsman of S^r Richard's mother's first husband, whose

name was Geofrey Fenton, who neglecting his study, being designed for a lawyer, so exceedingly displeased his uncle, that he sent him into Ireland, as an abandoned young man, to seek his fortune there. The young student, considering his condition, soone recovered his uncle's favour by so diligently applying himself to that study, as in short time he became one of the most eminent of that profession. Now the first Earl of Cork being then but Mr. Boyle (a Kentish man, &, perhaps I may have told you, a school-master at Maidstone ; but this particular being nothing of the Countess's narrative and a secret betwixt you and I only, and perhaps uncertaine) coming to advise with S^r Geof: Fenton, now knighted, & finding him engaged with another client, and seeing a pretty child in the nurse's armes, entertained himselfe with them, till S^r Geofrey came to him, making his excuse for making him waite so long. Mr. Boyle pleasantly told him, he had been courting a young lady for his wife. And so it fortun'd, that sixteene years after it, Mr. Boyle made his addresse in good earnest to her, and married the young lady, from whom has sprung all this numerous family, of earls and lords branching now into the noblest families of England. How many sons and daughters he left I do not remember, only that Roger Boyle was the eldest son, whom his father sent young into England, to be educated under the care of his relation, my grandmother, at Deptford, where was then a famous schole. Thus, Sir, have you the original of the relation you inquire after, and of the kindness which always continued between them. This Roger Boyle is the young gentleman, who dying in S^r R. Brown's house at Says-Court in Deptford, was interred in that parish church.

I will now endeavour to commute for your patience with a pleasant passage, current with the Boyles:

When King Charles II. newly come to his Crown, and using frequently to saile down the river in his yachts for diversion, and accompanied by all the greate men and courtiers waiting upon him, it was often observed, that when the vessel passed by a certain place opposite to the Church at Deptford, my Lord Burlington constantly pull'd off his hat, with some kind of reverence. This being remarked by some of the Lords standing by him, they desired he would tell them what he meant by it: to which he replied, "Do you see that steeple there? Have I not reason to pay a respect to the place where my elder brother lies buried, by which I enjoy the Earldom of Cork?" Worthy Sir, I remain

Your most humble and obliged serv^t,

J. EVELYN.

P.S. Where I speak of this family perhaps it may not be amisse to see what S^r W^m Dugdale says of it in his Baronage; tho' what the Heralds write is often sorry and mercenary enough. I am able to bring my own Pedigree from one Evelyn, nephew to Androgius, who brought Julius Cæsar into Britain the second time: will you not smile at this? Whilst Onslow, Hatton, and Evelyn came, I suppose, much at the same time out of Shropshire into Surrey and adjacent counties (from places still retaining their names) some time during the Barons Wars.

Methinks you speake of your not being at London till next spring: a long day for *Octogenarius* to hope for that happiness, who have of late seene so few moments I can call so all this past year: I have been much impaired in my health, by a defluxion which fell into one of my legs, caused by a slight scraze on my shin-bone, falling on a stump as I was walking in Brompton Parke to take the fresh air; and might

have been healed with a little Hungary-water in a day or two (for my flesh never rankles); but this neglected, a chirurgeon, my Godson, whom almost 40 years since was bound apprentice to that profession, persuading me to apply a miraculous plaster of his; it drew down a sharp humour, which kept me within three months, and that being at last diverted and perfectly cured, it has since tormented me with the hemorroides, if I may so call tumours that do not bleed (or rather blind piles), which make me exceedingly uneasy. I have yet adventured to pay my duty to my Lord Guernsey, who did me the honour to visit me at Dover Street whilst I was not able to stir, and has lately called often since he came out of Kent.

My young Grandson improves laudably in his studye of both laws, history, chronology, and practical mathematics: 'tis pity he has not a correspondent that might provoke him to write Latin epistles, in which I am told by some able to judge, and that have seen some of them, he is master of an handsome style: he does not forget his Greek, having read Herodotus, Thucydides, and the rest of that class. I do not much encourage his poetry, in which he has yet a pretty veine; my desire being to make him an honest useful man, of which I have great hopes, being so grave, steady, and most virtuously inclyned. He is now gone to see Chichester and Portse-mouth, having already travelled most of the inland counties; and went the last summer before this, as far as the Land's-end in Cornwall. Thus you see I make you part of my concernes, hardly abstaining from the boasts of men of my dotage.¹

I have payd the visit we lately received from Mr. Hare and his lady, very glad to find them both in so

¹ Doute-age.

good state of health. He longs to see Mr. Wooton, as well as your humble servant,

J. E.

The Master of Trinity was often at St. James's without being so kind as to visite the *Clinic*.

W. Wotton to J. Evelyn.

Oct^r 30, 1703.

Honored S^r,

I am heartily ashamed that I deferred so long to answer your's wherein you sent me so large and so obliging an answer to all my queries. I could say my family has ben indisposed (my wife having been lately brought to bed of a daughter), and that has broke my thoughts. But even that excuse satisfies me not, and so I shall pass it. I onely beg I may not forfeit your favor, and entreate you to accept of my sincere promises of future amendment. Your hand in this last, w^{ch} I received last night, seems stronger and healthier than in your former. God grant your health, w^{ch} now I hope is perfectly recovered, may long continue to y^e joy of your family and your friends, and to y^e satisfaction of all the learned world, to w^{ch}, whilst you live, you can'ot but be doing good. Another edition of your *Silva* I should be glad to see. It is a noble work, and y^e reception it has met with amongst y^e competent judges, demonstrates it to have bin so esteemed. Another edition of your "Parallel of Architecture" I could rejoyce to see done by yourself. I know you have noble materials for another impression by you, which y^e public greedily longs for.

Before I shut up this paper, I must rejoyce with

you for y^e prospect you have in young Mr. Evelyn.
 May that good Providence w^{ch} has preserved him to
 you and your admirable lady thus far, give you every
 day an encrease of satisfaction in him for y^e future.
 This is y^e unfeigned praier of,

Honored S^r,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,
 W. WOTTON.

I should be glad to know when you think of seeing
 London, and for how long.

For the Honored John Evelyn, Esq.
 at Wotton Place, neare Dorkinge in Surrey.

From the MSS. at Wotton.

Sayes Court.

The hithermost Grove I planted about	1656
The other beyond it	1660
The lower Grove	1662
The holly hedge, even with the Mount hedge below	1670

I planted every hedge & tree not onely in the
 garden, groves, &c. but about all the fields & house
 since 1653, except those large, old, & hollow elms in
 the stable court & next the sewer; for it was before,
 all one pasture field to the very garden of the house,
 w^{ch} was but small; from which time also I repaired
 the ruined house, & built the whole of the kitchen,
 the chapel, buttry, my study, above & below, cellars
 & all the outhouses & walls, still-house, orangerie, &
 made the gardens, &c. to my great cost, & better had
 I don to have pulled all down at first, but it was don
 at several times.

Mr. Evelyn was acquainted with the use and value of Potatoes, which he calls Irish, tasting like an old bean or roasted chesnut, not very pleasant till use have accustomed, yet of good nourishm^t & excellent use for relief of poor, yea & of one's own household where there are many servants in a dear year.

Prince Rupert invented a Turfing-plough, but without any description of its use.

Dredge is barley & Oats mixed.

Hops cost 20^l an acre before any

considerable profit.

	£	s.	d.
Digging	2	10	0
5000 roots	2	10	0
1 st year, dressing	2	10	0
2 ^d year, ditto	2	10	0
Poles	10	0	0

40 loads of dung on an acre, the produce not above 6^l an acre.¹

An acre of Hemp may be worth 8^l, & after this the land will be proper for barley, wheat, and pease successively.

Orchards improve land f^m 10^s an acre, w^{ch} is commonly the value of the best sort of tillage, & even of best pasture not above 2^l to 4^l.

An acre planted with cherries has been sett at 10^l, 100 miles f^m London.

About Sandwich & Deal they hedge & fence their

¹ The following account of expence and produce of Hop-ground at Farnham, in Surrey, about the year 1812, is given in Manning and Bray's History of that County, vol. iii. p. 166.

The average rent of hop-ground about £9. 10s. an acre. The first expence of making and planting an acre, £26. The hops are not in perfection till the third year after planting. The ground is dressed every year with good stable-dung, rags, hair, wool-clippings, lime, &c. Average expence £35 an acre. Ash and withy poles are best, length from 16 to 20 feet, prices from 26 to 40s. per hundred delivered in. Produce very uncertain; but on good ground, the average of three years may be about seven hundred weight from an acre.

corn fields with flax & hemp, but flax chiefly, w^{ch} they affirm keep out cattle, being bitter ; they sow it about 20 f^t deep into the field—sow whole fields of canary-seed—great grounds of hyssop & thime in tufts, for seeds only—the soil light & sandy, but the hyssop in richer ground.

CHARACTER OF MRS. EVELYN,

BY DR. BOHUN.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN HIS HAND-WRITING.



WOTTON CHURCH, SURREY

CHARACTER OF MRS. EVELYN,

BY DR. BOHUN.¹

I HAD lately occasion to review severall letters to me from Mrs. Evelyn of Deptford. After reading y^m, I found they were much to be valued, because they contained not only a compleat description of the private events in the family, but publick transactions of y^e times, where are many curious and memorable things described in an easy and eloquent style.

Many forgotten circumstances by this means are recalled afresh to my memorie ; by so full and perfect a narration of y^m, they are again present to my thoughts, and I see y^m re-acted as it were before my eyes. This made strong impressions on my mind, so y^t I could not rest till I had recollected y^e substance of y^m, and from thence some generall reflexions thereon, and from thence drew a character of y^{eir} author, so farr only as by plain and natural inferences may

¹ The Rev. Dr. Ralph Bohun, D.C.L. was a scholar at Winchester College, and was elected probationary fellow of New College, Oxford, at the early age of 19. In 1671 he wrote a Discourse on the History and Nature of Wind ; and in 1685, he completed his Doctor's degree.

be gathered from y^{eir} contents. This was not perform'd in a manner worthy of y^e design, but hastily and uncorrectly, w^{ch} cost no more time yⁿ cou'd be employed at one sitting in an afternoon ; but in this short model, Mrs. Evelyn will appeare to be y^e best daughter and wife, y^e most tender mother, and desirable neighbour and friend, in all parts of her life. The historicall account of matters of fact sufficiently set forth her prayses, wherein there cou'd be no error or self-conceit ; and declare her to be an exact pattern of many excellent vertues ; but they are concealed in such modest expressions, y^t y^e most envious censurers can't fix upon her y^e least suspicion of vanity or pride. Tho' she had many advantages of birth and beauty, and wit, yet you may perceive in her writings, an humble indifference to all worldly enjoyments, great charity, and compassion to those y^t had disobliged her, and no memory of past occurrences, unlesse it were a gratefull acknowledgment of some friendly office ; a vein of good-nature and resignation, and self denial runs through y^m all. There's nothing so despis'd in many of these letters as the fruitles & empty vanities of y^e town ; and they seem to pity y^e misfortune of those who are condemned by y^{eir} greater quality or stations to squander away y^{eir} precious time in unprofitable diversions, or bestow it in courtly visits & conversations. Where theré happens to be any mention of children or friends, there's such an air of sincerity & benevolence for y^e one, and religious concern for y^e happines of y^e other, as if she had no other design to live in y^e world, yⁿ to perform her own duty, and promote y^e welfare of her relations and acquaintance.

There's another observation to be collected, not less remarkable yⁿ y^e rest, w^{ch} is her indefatigable industry in employing herself, and more for the sake of others yⁿ her own : This she wrote, not out of vain

glory, or to procure commendation, but to entertain y^m with whom she had a familiar correspondence by letters, with y^e relation of such accidents or bysnes wherein she was engag'd for the month, or the week past.

This was a peculiar felicity in her way of writing, y^t tho she often treated of vulgar and domestic subjects, she never suffer'd her style to languish or flag, but by some new remark or pleasant digression kept it up to its usual pitch.

The reproofs in any of these numerous letters were so softly insinuated, y^t y^e greatest punishment to be inflicted upon any disobligation was only to have y^e contrary vertue to y^e fault they had ben guilty of, highly applauded in the next correspondence, w^{ch} was ever so manag'd as to pleas and improve.

Scarce an harsh expression, much less any evill surmise or suspicion cou'd be admitted where every line was devoted to charity and goodnes. This is no effect of partiality, but appears in y^e particular instances, so y^t y^e same judgment must be made by all unprejudiced persons who shall have a sight of y^m.

Any misfortune or disappointment was not mournfully lamented, but related in such a manner as became a mind y^t had laid in a sufficient provision of courage & patience before-hand to support it under afflictions. All unfortunate accidents are allaid by some consolatory argument taken from solid principles. No kind of trouble but one seems to interrupt y^e constant intention to entertain & oblige, but that is dolorously represented in many of y^e letters, w^{ch} is y^e loss of children or friends. That being an irreparable separation in this world, is deplored with the most affectionat tenderness w^{ch} words can express. You may conclude y^t they who write in such a manner as this, must be suppos'd to have a just sens of religion, becaus there can scarce be assign'd

one act of a beneficent and charitable temper but has many texts of y^e Gospell to enforce it. So y^t all good Xtians must be very usefull and excellent neighbours and friends; w^{ch} made this lady ever esteemed so. Shee was y^e delight of all y^e conversations where she appear'd, she was lov'd and admir'd, yet never envy'd by any, not so much as by y^e women, who seldom allow y^e perfections of y^{eir} own sex, least they ecclips y^{eir} own; but as this very manifestly & upon all occasions was her temper, y^e world was very gratefull to her upon y^t account. This happines was gain'd and preserved by one wise qualification, for tho' no person living had a closer insight into y^e humors or characters of persons, or cou'd distinguish y^{eir} merits more nicely, yet she never made any despising or censorious reflexions: her great discernment and wit were never abus'd to sully y^e reputation of others, nor affected any applaus y^t might be gain'd by satirical jests. Tho' shee was extreamly valu'd, and her friendship priz'd and sought for by y^m of the highest condition, yet she ever treated those of y^e lowest with great condescension and humanity. The memory of her vertues and benefits made such deep impression on her neighbors of Deptford and Greenwich, that if any one should bring in another report from this, or what was generally receiv'd among y^m, they'd condemn as fals, and y^e effect of a slanderous calumny; either they wou'd never yield y^t any change shou'd happen to this excellent lady, or they'd impute it to sickness, or time, or chance, or y^e unavoidable frailtys of human nature. But I have somewhat digress'd from my subject, w^{ch} was to describe her person or perfections no otherwise yⁿ they may be gathered from y^e letters I receiv'd;¹ they contain

¹ Copies of several letters to Dr. Bohun, have been found at Wotton, but not those here referred to. A few of them will follow, as specimens of her manner and great good sense.

historical passages and accounts of any more or less considerable action or accident y^t came to her knowledge, with diverting or serious reflections as y^e subject requir'd, but generally in an equall and chaste style, supported by a constant gravity, never descending to affected sallys of ludicrous wit.

It's to be further observ'd, y^t tho she recites and speaks French exactly, & understands Italian, yet she confines herself with such strictnes to y^e purity of y^e English tounge, y^t she never introduces foreign or adopted words: that ther's a great steadines & equality in her thoughts; and y^t her sens & expressions have a mutual dependance on each other may be infer'd from hence—you shall never perceive one perplext sentence, or blot, or recalling a word in more yⁿ twenty letters.

Many persons with whom she convers'd or were related to her, or had any publick part in y^e world, were honour'd by very lively characters confer'd on them, always just, and full of discernment, rather inclining to y^e charitable side, yet no otherwyse yⁿ as skillfull masters who paint like, yet know how to give some graces and advantages to y^m whose pictures they draw. The expressions are clear and unaffected, y^e sentences frequent & grave, y^e remarks judicious, y^e periods flowing & long, after the Ciceronian way, yet tho' they launch out so farr, they are strict to y^e rules of grammar, and ever come safe home at last without any obscurity or incoherence attending y^m.

I'll only give one instance of a person who was characteris'd by her in a more favorable manner yⁿ he durst presume y^t he deserved; however, to shew y^e method of her writing, I shall set it down. "I believe (such an one) to be a person of much wit, great knowledge, judicious and discerning, charitable, well natur'd, obliging in conversation, apt to forget &

forgive injuries, eloquent in y^e pulpit, living according to known precepts, faithfull to his friend, generous to his enemie, and in every respect accomplisht ; this in our vulgar way is a desirable character, but you'll excuse if I judge unrefinedly who have y^e care of cakes & stilling, & sweetmeats & such usefull things."

Mrs. Evelyn has been often heard to say concerning y^e death of her admirable & beloved Daughter, that tho' she had lost her for ever in this world yet she wou'd not but y^t she had been, becaus many pleasing ideas occurr to her thoughts y^t she had convers'd with her so long, and ben made happy by her for so many years.

Oxon, 1695, Sept. 20.

LETTERS FROM MRS. EVELYN.

For Mr. Bohun.

21 May 1668.

If it be true that wee are generally enclined to covett what wee admire, I can assure you my ambition aspires not to the fame of Balzac, and therefore must not thank you for entitling me to that great name. I do not admire his style, nor emulate the spirit of discontent which runns through all his letters. There is a lucky hitt in reputation which some obtaine by the deffect in their judges, rather than from the greatnesse of their merit; the contrary may be instanced in Doctor Donne, who had he not ben really a learned man, a libertine in witt and a courtier, might have been allowed to write well, but I confess in my opinion, with these qualifications he falls short in his letters of the praises some give him.

Voiture seems to excell both in quicknesse of fancy, easinesse of expression, & in a facile way of insinuating that he was not ignorant of letters, an advantage the Court ayre gives persons who converse with the world as books.

I wonder at nothing more than at the ambition of printing letters; since, if the designe be to produce witt and learning, there is too little scope for the one, and the other may be reduced to a lesse compasse than a sheet of gilt paper, unlesse truth were more communicative. Buisnesse, love, accidents, secret displeasure, family intrigues, generally make up the body of letters, and can signifie very little to any besides the persons they are addressed to, and therefore must loose infinitely by being exposed to the uncon-

cerned. Without this declaration I hope I am sufficiently secure never to runne the hazard of being censured that way, since I cannot suspect my friends of so much unkindnesse, nor myselfe of the vanity to wish fame on so doubtfull a foundation as the caprice of mankind. Do not impute my silence to neglect ; had you seene me these tenne days continually entertaining persons of different humor, age, and sence, not only at meales, or afternoone, or the time of a civill visit, but from morning till night, you will be assured it was impossible for me to finish these few lines sooner ; so often have I set pen to paper and ben taken off againe, that I almost despaired to lett you know my satisfaction that Jack¹ complies so well with your desires, and that I am your friend and servant,

M. EVELYN

To Mr. Bohun.

1671.

S^r,

I must believe you are very busy, hearing so sel-dome from you, and that you are much in the esteeme of Dr. Bathurst,² since he judges so favourably of y^r friends. It cannot be the effect of his discernment which makes him give sentence in my behalfe, being so great a master of reason as he is ; but it is certainly a mark of his great kindnesse to you that he deffers to y^r jugment in opposition to his owne. I should not question y^{rs} in other things, but the wisest may be allow'd some grains, and I conclude you no lesse a courtier than a philosopher. Since my last to you I have seene "The Siege of

¹ Her son, then at College under Mr. Bohun's care.

² Dr. Ralph Bathurst, Dean of Wells, and President of Trinity College, in Oxford, whose *Life and Literary Remains* have been published by Thomas Warton, Poetry Professor, and Fellow of the same College.

Grenada," a play so full of ideas that the most refined romance I euer read is not to compare with it: love is made so pure, and valor so nice, that one would imagine it designed for an Vtopia rather then our stage. I do not quarrell with the poet, but admire one borne in the decline of morality should be able to feigne such exact virtue: and as poetick fiction has been instructive in former ages, I wish this the same event in ours. As to the strict law of Comedy I dare not pretend to judge: some thinke the division of the story not so well as if it could all haue ben comprehended in the dayes actions: truth of history, exactness of time, possibilities of adventures, are niceties the antient criticks might require; but those who have outdone them in fine notions may be allowed the liberty to expresse them their owne way, and the present world is so enlightened that the old dramatique must bear no sway. This account perhaps is not enough to do Mr. Driden right, yet is as much as you can expect from the leisure of one who has the care of a nursery.

I am, Sir, &c.

M. EVELYN.

To Mr. Bohun at Oxford.

S^r,

Do not think my silence hitherto has proceeded from being taken up with the diversions of the towne, the eclat of the wedding, mascarades which trebled their number the second night of the wedding [so] that there was great disorder and confusion caused by it, and with which the solemnity ended; neither can I charge the houswifry of the country after my returne, or treating my neighbours this Christmas, since I never finde any buisnesse or recreation that makes me forget my friends. Should I confesse the reall cause, it is y^r expectation of extra-

ordinary notions of things wholly out of my way : Women were not borne to reade authors, and censure the learned, to compare lives and judge of virtues, to give rules of morality, and sacrifice to the Muses. We are willing to acknowledge all time borrowed from family duties is misspent ; the care of children's education, observing a husband's comands, assisting the sick, relieving the poore, and being servicable to our friends, are of sufficient weight to employ the most improved capacities amongst us. If sometimes it happens by accident that one of a thousand aspires a little higher, her fate commonly exposes her to wonder, but adds little to esteeme. The distaff will defend our quarrells as well as the sword, and the needle is as instructive as the penne. A heroine is a kinde of prodigy ; the influence of a blasing starre is not more dangerous, or more avoyded. Though I have lived under the roofe of the learned, and in the neighbourhood of science, it has had no other effect on such a temper as mine, but that of admiration, and that too but when it is reduced to practice. I confesse I am infinitely delighted to meet with in books the atchievements of the heroes, with the calmnesse of philosophers, and with the eloquence of orators ; but what charms me irresistably is to see perfect resignation in the minds of men let what ever happens adverse to them in their fortune ; that is being knowing and truly wise ; it confirms my beleefe of antiquity, and engages my perswasion of future perfection, without which it were in vaine to live. Hope not for volumes or treatises ; raillery may make me goe beyonde my bounds, but when serious, I esteeme myselfe capable of very little, yet I am, S^r,

Your friend and servant.

M. E.

Jan. 4, 1672.

*To my Lady Tuke, after the death of
S^r Sam. Tuke.*

Madame,

I acknowledge these are trialls which make Christian philosophy usefull, not only by a resignation to the divine decree, but by that hope which encourages us to expect a more lasting happinesse then any this world can give. Without this wee were extreemly wretched, since no felicity here has any duration. Wee are solicitous to obtaine, wee feare whilst wee possesse, and wee are inconsolable when wee loose. The greatest conquerors themselves are subject to this unsteady state of humane nature; lett us not murmur then, for wee offend, and though in compliance to y^r present sence of things I could joyne with you in greeving, having made as particular a losse as ever any did in a friend, I dare not indulge y^r sorrows, especially when I consider how prejudiciall it will prove to y^rselfe and those dear pledges that are left to your care; but I do rather beg of you cease greeving, and owe that to reason and prudence which time will overcome. Were I in so good health that I could quitt my chamber, I would be dayly with you and assure you how really I am concerned for you. You cannot doubt the affection of your, &c.

Jan. 28, 1672.

To Mr. Bohun.

Sayes-Court, 29 Jan. 1672.

S^r,

If a friend be of infinite value living, how much cause have wee to lament him dead! Such a friend was S^r Sam. Tuke, who retired out of this life on St.

Paul's day [25 Jan.] at midnight, and has changed the scene to him and us, and left occasion to all that knew him to bewaile the losse. You need not to be made sensible by a character of a person you knew so well, and you can enumerate virtues enough to lament and shed some teares justly ; therefore spare me the sorrow of repeating what effect it has wrought on such a minde as mine, who think no misfortune worth regretting besides the losse of those I love. Do not blame me if I beleieve it allmost impossible to meet with a person so worthy in himselfe, and so disposed to esteeme me againe ; and yet that is not the chiefest cause of my affliction. I might wave much of my owne interest, had I not so many partners that will suffer equally. These are the trialls which make Christian philosophy usefull, not only by a resignation to the Divine decree, but by that hope which encourages us to expect a more lasting happinesse then any this world can give, without which wee were extreamly wretched, since no felicity here has any duration. The greatest conquerors themselves are subject to this unsteady state of humane nature, therefore well may I submitt, whose concerns are triviall in respect of others. Yet this I conclude, that wee dye by degrees when our friends go before us. But whilst I discourse thus with you, I should consider what effects melancholy reflections may have on a spleenetic person, one who needes not cherish that temper. I will only add that I am now able to quitt my chamber, which is more then I could do these 14 dayes, and that I am, Sir,

Your servant, M. EVELYN.

To Mr. Bohun, Fellow of New College, Oxford.

S^r,

When I have assured you that my usuall indisposition has treated me so severely this winter that I have had little leasure to think of any thing but the meanes of gaineing health and ease, I am perswaded you will excuse me if I have not decided in my thoughts which was the greatest captaine, Cæsar or Pompey ; whether Mr. De Rosny were not a great polititian, a brave soldier, and the best servant that ever Prince had for capacity, fidelity and steadinesse, a man strangely disinterested, infinitely fortunate, and every way qualified to serve such a master as was Henry the Great, who notwithstanding humane frailties, was worthy to be faithfully dealt with, since he knew how to judge and to reward. But why do we allwayes look back into times past ? wee may not reproch our owne, since heere is at this present a scene for galantrie and merit, and whilst wee may hope, wee must not condemne. Should I tell you how full of sorrow I have ben for the losse of Dr. Bretton,¹ you only would blame me ; after death flattery ceases, therefore you may beleeve there was some cause to lament when thousands of weeping eyes witnessed the affliction their soules were in ; one would have imagined every one in this parish had lost a father, brother, or husband, so great was the bewailing ; and in earnest it dos appeare there never was a better nor a more worthy man. Such was his temper, prudence, charity, and good conduct, that he gained the weake and preserved the wise. The sudenesse of his death was a surprise only to his friends ; as for himselfe it might be looked upon as a deliverance from paine, the effect of sicknesse, and

¹ Minister of Deptford ; he died in February 1671-2.

I am almost perswaded God snatched him from us, least he might have ben prevailed with by the number of petitions to have left him still amongst us. If you suspect kindness in me makes me speake too much, Doctor Parr¹ is a person against whome you cannot object ; it was he who preached the funerall sermon, and as an effect of truth as well as eloquence he himselfe could not forbear weeping in the pulpit. It was his owne expression that there were 3 for whome he had infinitely grieved, the martyred King, my Lord Primate,² and Doctor Bretton ; and as a confirmation of the right that was done him in that oration, there was not a drie eye nor a dissenting person. But of this no more.

M. EVELYN.

Sayes-Court, 2^o March 1671-2.

To Lady Tuke.

April 1685.

How to expresse the sorrow for parting with so deare a child is a difficult task. She was welcome to me from the first moment God gave her, acceptable through the whole course of her life by a thousand endearments, by the gifts of nature, by acquired parts, by the tender love she ever shew'd her father and me : a thred of piety accompanied all her actions, and now proves our greatest consolation. The patience, resignation, humility of her carriage in so severe and fatall a disease, discover'd more than an ordinary assistance of the Divine goodnesse, never expressing feare of death, or a desire to live, but for

¹ Richard Parr, D.D. Vicar of Reigate and Camberwell. He died Nov. 2, 1691. The funeral sermon alluded to, was printed in 1672. See Manning and Bray's History of Surrey, vol. i. p. 323.

² Archbishop Usher.

her friends sake. The seaventh day of her illnesse she discoursed to me in particular as calmly as in health, desir'd to confesse and receive the blessed Sacrament, which she perform'd with great devotion, after which, tho' in her perfect senses to the last, she never signified the least concerne for the world, prayed often, and resigned her soule.—What shall I say ! She was too great a blessing for me, who never deserved any thing, much lesse such a jewell. I am too well assured of y^r L^{ps} kindnesse to doubt the part you take in this losse ; you have ever shewed y^rselfe a friend in so many instances, that I presume upon y^r compassion ; nothing but this just occasion could have hindered me from wellcoming you to towne, and rejoyceing with the best friend I have in the world—a friend by merit and inclination, one I must esteeme as the wife of so worthy a relation and so sincere a friend as S^r Sam: (Tuke) was to me and mine. What is this world, when we recall past things ! what are the charms that keep our minds in suspence ! without the conversation of those we love, what is life worth ! How did I propose happinesse this sum'er in the returne of y^r L^p and my deare child—for she was absent almost all this winter !

She had much improved her selfe by the remarks she had made of the world and all its vanities—What shall I add ! I could ever speake of her, and might I be just to her without suspition of partiality, could tell you many things. The papers which are found in her cabinet discover she profited by her readyng—such reflections, collections out of Scripture, confessions, meditations, and pious notions, evidence her time was not spent in the trifling way of most young women. I acknowledge, as a Christian, I ought not to murmur, and I should be infinitely sorry to incur God's further displeasure. There are those yet remaining that challenge my care, and

for their sakes I endeavour to submit all I can. I thank my poore Cousen a thousand times for her kind concerne, and wishe she may live to be the comfort you deserve in her, that God will continue the blessing to both, and make you happy—which is the prayer of her who is

Y^{rs} most affectionately,
M. E.

Mrs. Evelyn to her Son.

I haue received y^r letter, and request for a supply of mony ; but none of those you mention which were bare effects of y^r duty. If you were so desirous to answer our expectations as you pretend to be, you would give those tutors and overseers you think so exact over you lesse trouble then I feare they have with you. Much is to be wished in yo^r behalfe : that y^r temper were humble and tractable, y^r inclinations virtuous, and that from choice not compulsion you make an honnest man. Whateuer object of vice comes before you, should haue the same effect in y^r mind of dislike and aversion that drunkenesse had in the youth of Sparta when their slaves were presented to them in that brutish condition, not only from the deformity of such a sight, but from a motive beyond theirs, the hope of a future happinesse, which those rigorous heathens in morall virtue had little prospect of, finding no reward for virtue but in virtue itselfe. You are not too young to know that lying, defrauding, swearing, disobedience to parents and persons in authority, are offences to God and man : that debauchery is injurious to growth, health, life, and indeed to the pleasures of life : therefore now that you are turning from child to man endeavour to follow the best precepts, and chuse such wayes as

may render you worthy of praise and love. You are assured of y^r Fathers care and my tendernesse : no mark of it shall be wanting at any time to confirme it to you, with this reserve only, that you strive to deserve kindnesse by a sincere honest proceeding, and not flatter y^r selfe that you are good whilst you only appeare to be so. Fallacies will only passe in schools. When you thoroughly weigh these considerations, I hope you will apply them to your owne advantage, as well as to our infinite satisfaction. I pray dayly God would inspire you with his grace, and blesse you.

I am,

Y^r louing mother,

M. EVELYN.

Mrs. Evelyn (who outlived Mr. Evelyn) by her will, dated 9 Feb. 1708, desired to be buried in a stone coffin near that of "my dear husband, whose love & friendship I was happy in 58 years 9 months, but by Gods Providence left a disconsolate widow the 27 day of February, 1705, in the 71st year of my age. His care of my education was such as might become a father, a lover, a friend, and husband, for instruction, tenderness, affection & fidelity to the last moment of his life ; which obligation I mention with a gratitude to his memory, ever dear to me ; & I must not omit to own the sense I have of my Parents care & goodnesse in placing me in such worthy hands."

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

KING CHARLES I.

AND

HIS SECRETARY OF STATE, SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS,
WHILST HIS MAJESTY WAS IN SCOTLAND, 1641,

AND AT OTHER TIMES DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

ORIGINAL LETTERS.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

NICOLAS, Your aduertisments to me,¹ is so far from displeasing to me, that I comand you to continew it, & that as often as conuenientlie ye may. Deliuer thease incloseds. (I hope ye know by that yesterday that on [one] is to my Wyfe.) So I rest

Your friend,

Eden. 15 Aug. 1641.

CHARLES R.

Aduertise my Wyfe vpon euey dispathe, that she may (if she will) wryt ; & make one when & as often as she will comand you.

¹ This letter is evidently the first sent by the King to Sir Edward Nicholas, in answer to his first communication respecting the proceedings subsequent to his Majesty's departure from the metropolis to settle affairs in the Scottish Parliament. This journey of the King was by no means agreeable to the English Parliament ; for, so late as the 7th of August, the Commons desired the Lords to join with them in an attempt to delay the King's departure for fourteen days. Charles, however, gave his assent on that day to several Bills, both public and private, and then bade the Parliament Farewell ! The next day, although Sunday, the Commons actually sat, for the purpose of forming and presenting a petition on the subject. On the 9th, his Majesty again gave the royal assent to four Bills, and took leave a second time, telling the Parliament that he should return before Michaelmas, if possible. At two o'clock he set off, accompanied by the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Richmond. His journey must have been performed with a rapidity nearly equal to that of the present day.

The Queen to Sir E. Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas, I haue reseaued your letter : and that you send me from the King : which writes me word he has been vere well reseaued in scotland : and that both the armie : and the people : have shued a creat joye to see the King : and such : that they say was neuer seen before : pray god it may continued : for the letter that I writt to you counserning the commissionaires it is them that are toe dispatch bussinesse in the Kings absence : I thank you for your care of geuing me aduises of what passes at London : and soe I reste

Your frand,

Otelands,¹ the 19 August.

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

Indorsed, "For Mistre Nicholas."

In Sir E. N.'s writing :

"19^o Aug. 1641. The Queenes le^r to me."

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Mat^{ie},

Yesterday I receaved yo^r Mat^{ies} of the 17th of this month, & in it one to the Queene, & another to my Lo: Keeper :² I forthw^h presented yo^r Mat^{ies} to the Queene, w^{ch} when she had read, her Mat^{ie} comanded me to forbear to deliver that to my Lo. Keeper, & took it into her owne custody, for that her Mat^{ie} said it was written att her entreaty, & that there is now noe occasion for y^e delivery of it, as her Mat^{ie} tells me she will by her next satisfy yo^r Mat^{ie}, & I hope I have donne nothing but my duty in obeying her Mat^{ies} comaund touching that letter.

*Apostyled in
the King's
writing :³*

Ye ar verrie
right

¹ Oatlands at this period was the Queen's property, having been granted to her some years before, by the King, for her life. In the preceding year, 1640, her son Henry of Oatlands was born there. Oatlands had long been a royal mansion ; but the house then stood on low ground, near the present kitchen garden (see "History of Surrey") ; and was pulled down during the Usurpation, with the exception of a small part, which was again given up to the Queen upon the Restoration.

² Sir Edward Lyttelton, created Lord Lyttelton in this year.

³ What is so apostyled by the King will be printed in the margin.

Satterday morning the Comittees did set forth towards Scotland,¹ & that day the Peers adiourned their House till tomorrow :² it is conceived there will not be much business donne now in P'liam't untill they shall understand of the arrivall and recepon of their Comittees by yo^r Ma^{tie}, whereon all their eyes are fixed.³

The Constable of y^e Tower is comanded by y^e Lo^{des} House forthw^h to reside constantly in the Tower, & order is given (as I am credibly tould) that there shal be 40 souldiers added to reinforce that garrison, w^{ch} new soldiers are to be contynued & paid by the P'liam't here during yo^r Ma^{ties} absence.

Upon a Conference had betweene both Houses, there is an order of P'liam't for y^e present disarming of all Recusants,⁴ and some Comittees of the Houses are appointed to see y^e statutes on that behalf forthw^h put in execucon.

Upon consideracon of y^e great ielousies that are rayseed here & spread abroad, as if there were some intencons to make use of some of y^e armyes to y^e preiudice of y^e Parliam^t, and upon the apparent delay that hath been used in y^e paying off, & disbanding y^e English armye, w^{ch} hath bene cleerely throughe y^e negligence of those whom y^e Parliam^t hath imployed in that service, I humbly beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to give me leaue to offer to yo^r Ma^{ties} consideracon, whether it may not be fitt for yo^r Ma^{tie} p'sently to wryte yo^r l^res to the Speaker of one or both Houses, taking notice of y^e delay & sloth that hath bene used in y^e disbanding the armies, w^{ch} have bene kept on foote here to y^e great greevaunce of yo^r

Heerein I ha
tane your a
uyce, the in
closed to th
Keeper bein
to that effe
onlie I wou
haue you ad
uertice my
wyfe of it.

¹ These Commissioners were appointed by both Houses on the 16th of August, with instructions to negotiate with the Scottish Parliament respecting the affairs of that kingdom.

² The Commons, however, had been very busy since the King's departure: having brought fresh charges against the impeached Bishops; voted Perry, Jermyn, and Suckling, guilty of high treason; and established a complaint against the Queen's Capuchin Friars. Though the King was gone, yet Commissioners were left to exercise the royal functions in Parliament, and the assent was given to the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage on the 16th of August.

³ Before adjournment they made fresh orders against the Recusants, and also for raising money speedily for the use of the army.

⁴ This originated in a complaint from the Commons to the Lords on the 17th of August, that the laws for disarming them were neglected, and that many of them were even screened by members of the Upper House.

sub^{cts} in y^e North, & att a heavy charge to yo^r kingdome in England in g^rall, notwithstanding yo^r Ma^{tie} hath from tyme to tyme by frequent speeches to both Houses often called upon them to ease this yo^r kingdome of that greivous burthen. Yo^r Ma^{ty} now understanding, that (when by y^e agreem^t wth the Scots all the Englishe forces are to be disbanded) y^e Lo. G^rall hath advertised y^e Houses that there wants 140. thousand pounds to finishe that worke, therefore yo^r Ma^{tie} may be pleased to quicken the Parliam^t here, & to let them know how sensible yo^r Ma^{tie} is of y^e long sufferings of yo^r people of England, & to comaund the Houses, (all other matters set apart,) forthwith to apply themselves to free this yo^r kingdome of soe heavy & dayly a charge. Such a letter would let yo^r people here see yo^r care & affec^{on} to them, & make appeare cleerely to the world that there is noe intenc^{on} on yo^r Ma^{ties} p^{te} to make use of the army here, as may be otherwise insinuated.

I humbly beg yo^r Ma^{ties} p^{don} for this bold & tedious discourse, w^{ch} is noe other then an effect of the dutifull affeccion of

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

most humble & most

obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Contineu your
aduertisments
for w^{ch} I
thanke you.
C. R.

As I was closing this packet, I receaved one from Edinburgh, wherein was yo^r Ma^{ties} le^r of the 19th p^{esent} : I shall lett my Lo. Keeper understand what yo^r Ma^{tie} hath comaunded me to deliver to my Lo. Ch. Justice Bankes (who is now in his circuit in Suffolke) touching y^e 4 Irishe regiments,¹ and desire his Lo^{pp} (in y^e others absence) to acquaint y^e Lo^{des} House therewith. Yo^r Ma^{ties} le^r of y^e 19th p^{esent} I have sent to y^e Queene.

Westminster, 23^o Aug. 1641.

Under this date, in the King's writing, "Eden. 28."

Indorsed, "For yo^r Ma^{tie}." And signed by the King, "Yours apostyled."

Likewise indorsed by Sir E. N. "My le^r to y^e King of y^e 23 Aug. 1641.

Apostiled y^e 28th."

¹ When the Irish regiments were on the point of being disbanded, the Ambassadors of France and Spain made an application to the Parliament on the 14th of August for leave to hire several regiments for foreign service ; but their application was refused.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas, I thanke you for the account you haue giuen me by yours of the 14, comanding you still to continew the same course, as lykewais that in my name ye tell the same to my Lord Cheefe justice Bankes¹ also : So I rest

Your frend,

Eden: 19 Aug: 1641.

CHARLES R.

You must tell my L. Cheefe justice Bankes from me that I am so far now engaged to the Spanish Embassador² for fower regiment, that I cannot now goe backe, for it was asseured me before I cam from London that bothe Houses were content, onlie it wanted the formalitie of voting : whereupon I gaue an absolute order for the leauing & transporting of those men, but also reiterated my promises to the Embassador : wherefor he must tell the Houses from me that thease leauies must not be stoped. C. R.

Addressed : "For your selfe."

Indorsed by Sir E. N. "19^o Aug: 1641 : R. 23^o. His Ma^{ties} let^r to me."

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

This morning about 6 o'clock I receaved by y^e hands of Mr. Murray yo^r Ma^{ties} of the 22th, & have acquainted my Lo. Keeper,³ that yo^r Ma^{tie} is well satisfied wth his lett^r, whereof his Lo^{pp} is very glad, & acknowledgeth yo^r Ma^{ties} great goodnes to him in it.

Before my receipt of yo^r Ma^{ties} last letter I had acquainted my Lo. Keeper (in y^e absence of my Lo. Ch. Justice Bankes) w^h what yo^r Ma^{tie} commanded me, touching yo^r Ma^{ties} engagem^t for transportac'on of 4 regiments of Irishe for y^e service of the Spanishe

I see your discretion may bee trusted in greater matters

¹ Sir John Banks, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

² Don Alonzo de Cardenas. This is noticed in the preceding letter.

³ This was Lord Lyttelton, who succeeded Finch, and of whom it was justly said that he was a good Englishman, a good subject, and learned in the laws ; but not having the same dexterity that his predecessor had, he was not so fitly qualified for his important trust in such perilous and critical times.

King, & wh^h y^e reasons of it, & his Lo^{pp} having that morning made y^e same knowne to the Lo^{des}, they thereupon had y^e next day a conference wh^h y^e Comons House, the result of w^{ch} conference is not as yet reported to y^e Lo^{des} House, but I am tould, that the Comons¹ are very much against these 4 regiments going for Spayne, in regard it crosseth wth yo^r Maties & y^e Houses Declaration against y^e Spanyard on behalf of y^e Prince Elector ;² & therefore my Lo. Keeper thinkes not fitt to hasten y^e report of that conference : As soone as there shal be any order or resolucon in it by y^e Parliam^t, I shall advertise it to yo^r Ma^{tie}. I sent yo^r Ma^{ties} letter to Sir Ph. Maynewaring³ by an expresse messenger into Northamptonsh : whither S^r Phillip was gonne 2 dayes before my receipt of yo^r Ma^{ties} to him.

Since Satterday last there hath beene noe business done in Parliam^t of any publique nature⁴ that I can heare of ; but only the order made by the Lo^{des} touching y^e election of y^e present Sheriffs of London, whereof I gave advertisem^t to Mr. Thre'r by myne of y^e 23th.⁵ This day y^e Lo. Mayor was att the Upper House to get an

¹ On the 28th of August, when the House of Commons again took this affair into consideration, Sir Benjamin Rudyard spoke loudly against it, founding his objections, principally, upon the points here stated by Sir Edward Nicholas. The Commons then refused assent to the measure, in which the Lords agreed with them ; and a letter, expressing their refusal, was sent to the King.

² Elector of Bavaria, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and nephew to Charles I. being the son of his sister Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

³ He was of Over Peover, in Cheshire, and father to the first Baronet of that name, so created after the Restoration. He was Sheriff of Cheshire in 1639, and Captain in the Cheshire light horse. Collins does not mention his knighthood.

⁴ This is curious ; for it appears, by the Records of Parliament, that on the 25th of August the Lords sequestrated the temporalities of Dr. Roger Manwaring, Bishop of St. David's, for his contumacy to an order of the House ; and on the day on which Sir Edward wrote his letter both Houses had a conference respecting a proposed recess of Parliament.

⁵ This evidently relates to the dispute then existing between the Lord Mayor and the Commons of London ; the former laying claim to the choice of one of the Sheriffs, by a prescription of three hundred years. The Livery refusing to abide by this, the Court of Aldermen petitioned the King to decide upon the affair ; but the King referred it to the House of Lords, who, after some delay, ordered that the Commonalty should proceed to the choice of the two Sheriffs, at the same time recommending that they would have those who had already been nominated by the Mayor. The Sheriffs chosen were George

alteration of that their Lo^{ps} order, but the House would not recede from it in any p'ticular, whereat y^e Lo. Mayor & cheif cittizens seeme to be much troubled.

There is here great expectation what recepcion yo^r Ma^{tie} will give to y^e Comittees sent hence. I wishe yo^r Ma^{tie} could have soe tymely expedited yo^r affaires there, as that you might have bene redly to come away before their arrivall there.

They came
heere yester-
night.

Yesterday y^e Comons ordered¹ that y^e pay of Coll. Willmot, Ashbournham, & y^e rest of y^e soldiers (that are questioned in P'liam't), shalbe sequestred untill their busines shalbe heard & adjudged. And upon occasion of y^e discourse of that busines, Mr. Selden did then in that house deliver his opinion with much confidence, that by y^e ACT OF OBLIVION Mr. Percy and Mr. Jermyn,² & all y^e rest that are questioned with them, are freed and pardoned, w^{ch} he argued so strongly out of the very words of that Act, as y^e sages of that house, who oppugned his opinion, did not (in y^e iudgem^t of able men) give any reasonable or satisfactory answer to it : the House seemed to be much amazed att this slipp in that Act, & were not well pleased with him who delivered this opinion : some said that it was not in y^e intencon of y^e House to pardon them, whereupon it was replyed that lawes are to be understood according to the words in y^e Act, & not according to the intencon of y^e makers, further than y^e words will beare.

This day the House of Peers have comitted to prison y^e man that printed the scandalous ballet concerning the Qu. Mother's going away, & will consider of further punishm^t for him, and they have ordered that these ballets shalbe burnt by y^e hand of y^e hangman.

Garret and George Clark. Sir William Acton, Bart. was the then Lord Mayor ; but he was superseded by the Parliament, and replaced by Sir Edmund Wright.

¹ Not recorded in the Parliamentary Debates.

² Jermyn had been especially implicated in this affair, by the confession of Colonel Goring, made on his examination concerning what was called a "Conspiracie against the State." Goring asserted that he, himself, had refused concurrence with the proposals to put the army into a posture to serve the King, to send a Declaration to Parliament that Episcopacy should not be infringed upon, and that the King's revenue should be established ; for he said that he thought it belonged to an army to maintain, not to contrive acts of state. At the same time he confessed that his own object, in joining in the proposed measures, was to solicit "a redresse for the miseries of the souldiers."

Thanke him in
my Name for
his account.

The inclosed from my Lo. Marshall¹ will give yo^r Ma^{tie} an account of y^e cause of y^e Qu. Mother's stay att Dover.

Indeed ye
haue it in a
full measure.

Albeit this employ^t w^{ch} yo^r Ma^{tie} hath bene pleased to honour me w'thall, hath drawne much envy vpon me, & (as I heare) set some on worke to pry into my accons past & present, yet since I enioy y^e comfort of y^r Ma^{ties} grac'ous opinion & acceptaunce of my poore & honnest endeavours, I shall not vulture any mans mallice, but rather smile att their ignorance, that conceive there is any other felicity in this employ^t, then to deserve to be accounted an honest man, &

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

I receaved this
yesterday.

The Queene sent me word she had written lately to yo^r Ma^{tie}, & would not write by this dispatche.

Westminster, 26^o Aug.

Written by the King, "Eden. 31, 1641."

Indorsed, "For yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie}."

Written by the King, "Yours apostyled."

Further indorsement in the hand-writing of Sir E. N.: "26 Aug. 1641.

Myne to his Ma^{tie} apostyled 31^o Aug."

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas, I haue nothing to answer to yours of the 20: (w^{ch} I receaved yesterday in the euening), save onlie to thanke for your advertisements: but heering from good hand, that the House of Comons meanes to refuse my General Pardon,² I haue thought fitt to comand you, to comand my L. Keeper to thinke of a Declaration to be put fourth in my name (in case my Pardon be refused) to make my fauorable intentions knowen to all my English subjects, how I consulted it with the best lawyers, to make

¹ Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

² This will be found fully explained in a subsequent letter. It seems as if the King wished to secure Percy, Wilmot, Ashburnham, and the others engaged with them, from the malice of the Parliament, but was unwilling to pardon them expressly by name, and therefore issued this General Pardon in order to include them, without appearing to confirm the charges brought against them as acting under his privity and directions.

it of most aduantadge that might bee for all my said people. This being the summe, for the forme & the penning, I leave it to bee consulted there: to w^{ch} end, I com'and you first to goe to my Wyfe, to receaue her directions in it (for she knowes my mynde fully in this particular) and according to what she shall direct you, to com'and my Lo. Keeper for the drawing of it, fitt for my hand, with all speede, & so I rest

Your frend,

CHARLES R.

Eden. 25 Aug: 1641.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please y^{or} most excell^{nt} Ma^{tie},

Yo^r Ma^{ties} of the 25th of this moneth founde me at Oatlands on Sunday last, as I was attending the Queenes com'aunds, where I p^esently p^esented to her Royall hand yo^r Ma^{ties} l^{er}, & acquainted her Ma^{tie} what you had written to me concerning a Declarac'on; her Ma^{tie} saith that she now vnderstands that y^e Com'ons will not suddainly refuse yo^r Ma^{ties} Pardon; but howsoever she com'aunded me to speake wth my Lo. Keeper about it according to yo^r Ma^{ties} le^{ter}, & to wishe him to consider of a fitting Declarac'on agreeable to yo^r Ma^{ties} direcc'ons, that it may be redy in case the G^{ral} Pardon shal be refused, & this to be donne wth all possible secrecy. My Lo. Keeper promiseth to p^epare such a Declarac'on against too-morrow, & hath wished me then to attend his Lo^{pp} to Oatlands, there to shew it to her Ma^{tie}, & as soon as it shal be perfected to send it for yo^r royal approbac'on. The busines will well beare this delay, for that y^e Peers have this day adiourned their House till Munday next; and y^e Com'ons (I heare) intend to adiourne too-morrow, also till Munday; & it is resolv'd that both Houses shall adiourne on Wensday se'night till y^e 26th of Octobr. I humbly desire to know yo^r Ma^{ties} pleasure whether when this Declarc'on shall be printed, it may not be fit to shew y^e same to my Lo. Banks or Mr. Attorney,¹ or both, before it be engrossed for yo^r Ma^{ties} hand. I have bene tould that some take excep'ons to

I am satisfied with this account.

Show it to both.

¹ Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

I am of your
mynd ; for
their petition
to mee was to
have it as neer
to that of 21
Jacobi as
might bee.

I com'and you
to speake with
the L. Keeper,
my L. Bankes,
and my learned
Councell, to
see what course
is best to be
taken to stop
theas insolencies
in tyme to
cum.

I willinglie
grant your
desyre.

yo^r Ma^t^{ies} Pardon, for that it excepts all matters of eccl[']all cogⁿ
saunce, albeit y^e same exception is in y^e Pardon of 21^o Jacobi, but
I beleeve that this except'on of theirs is but a pretence, & that y^e
mayne thing that they dislike in it is, that Mr. Percy & y^e rest of
his company are comprehended in it. Both Houses have had a
conference upon yo^r Ma^t^{ies} answer and reasons sent by Mr.
Nichols¹ touching y^e com[']ission, and I heare, though many would
have bene better pleased that yo^r Ma^t^{ie} had signed y^e com[']ission
for their co[']mittees, yet they doe not much dislike yo^r Ma^t^{ies}
answeare, since by yo^r grac[']ous permission their com[']ittees have
leave to come to Edenburg to doe the busines they are principally
sent for.² I have herewth sent yo^r Ma^t^{ie} y^e substance of 2 messages
delivered yesterday from y^e Com[']ons to y^e Peers. The ordinance
therein menc[']oned touching ye disarming of Recusants is this day
ordered to be printed (as I heare). There hath bene some of yo^r
Ma^t^{ies} deer killed in Windsor Forrest neer Egham by y^e inhabitants
of that towne & of y^e parishes adioyning, who hunted in y^e day
tyme by 80 & 100 in a company : S^r Ar. Maynwaring³ hath bene
amongst them, and wth good words & promises hath made them
forbeare for y^e p[']sent. When both Houses shal be adiourned till
Octob^r I beleeve here wil be little or noe busines in this towne,
where y^e sicknes & small pox increaseth, and therefore if yo^r Ma^t^{ie}
please to give me leave, I humbly desire to reside att Oatlands or

¹ This was Mr. Anthony Nichols, Member for Bodmyn, whom the Commons, on the 18th August, had ordered to be their messenger to carry the Petition, Commission, and Instructions to Edinburgh for the King's approbation. It is stated in the Parliamentary Records, that the sum of £1000 was then ordered for the "Commissioner's Charges."

² The King's answer was read to both Houses on the 30th, in which he said that he did not find it necessary to sign any such Commission ; but was "graciously pleased to give leave to the said Members to come and attend us here in Scotland, to see the ratification of the said Treaty, and what else belongs thereunto."

The Parliamentary Debates say, that "these reasons seemingly contented both Houses, for we hear no more of the matter from either of the Journals," but Sir Edward Nicholas explains the business with more probability.

³ He had property in Chertsey, in the vicinity ; and on the 17th of September was appointed, along with many others, to hold an inquest in the bounds of Windsor Forest, within the bailiwick of Surrey. The people had been enraged by the proceedings of the Justice in Eyre, the Earl of Holland. Manning and Bray's Hist. Surrey, vol. i. Introduction, pp. xii. xiii.

att my house att Thorpe (w^{ch} is but 3 myles from Oatlands), whether I can take order that all packets shall wthout any delay or p^eiudice be brought to me. I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} I would not p^esume to crave this favour, if I could imagine that any inconvenience or delay might thereby happen to y^e services yo^r Ma^{tie} hath bene pleased to comitt to y^e care of,

Y^r Maties

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 31^o Aug. 1641. Apostyled 7^o 7^{bris}.

Eden. 5 Sep.

Indorsed, "For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}."

And by the King, "Yours apostyled."

I receaued
yours of the 2
the 6 of this
monthe, vpon
w^{ch}, & other
reasons, to
stay this dis-
pache untill
the 8: euen
now I receaued
your of the 4:
w^{ch} requyres
no answer.
Eden. 8 Sept.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r Ma^{tie},

Since my let^r of y^e 26th of this moneth it hath bene here ordered by both Houses of Parliam^t, that out of y^e monny accruing to y^r Ma^{tie} by vertue of y^e last Act of Tonnage & Poundage,¹ there shal be paid for the use of the Navy 10 m. lb. for this moneth of Aug: & 15 m. for each of y^e other 3 monethes to y^e first of Decemb^r next, amounting in all to 55 m. lb. and upon a message sent by y^e Parliam^t to y^e Com[']ission^{rs} of y^e Treasury, they have given warraunt accordingly.

There hath bene a conference between y^e 2 Houses about some course to be taken for preserving of the myne of saltpeetre, but there is noe order as yet settled for it.

The sentence whereby London Derry was adiudged forfeited to y^r Ma^{tie}, is by y^e House of Com[']ons (as I heare) declared

You must com-
mand my
learned Coun-

¹ This was taken into consideration by the House of Commons on the 26th of August, in consequence of long arrears due to naval officers, as well as from the provisions in the magazines being decayed. Part of the money was also to be expended in fitting out ten men of war and ten merchant ships for the defence of the narrow seas; the charge of which would amount to £57,000, but only £1200 as yet appropriated out of the tonnage and poundage. The farmers of the Customs were ordered to make good the deficiency, to the amount of £15,000 per month.

cell, in my name, that they doe what they may that the same vote passe not the HigherHouse.

Nul, & that land thought fit to be restored backe to y^e City of London.¹

The Parliam^t here (upon a conference of both Houses) hath resolved to make a recesse on wensday y^e 8th of Sep^{ber} to ye 26th of Octob^r next, unlesse before that day there shal hapen some emergent busines, w^{ch} it is thought wil be as y^e intelligence from Scotland shall please us here.

The Qu. Mother² remaines still att Dover, expecting (as my Lo. Marshall writes to me this morning) y^e returne of a messenger from Flanders, soe as tuesday next wil be y^e soonest that her Ma^{tie} wil embarque.

All things are like to be now very still here, every mans expectac'on being fixed upon yo^r Ma^{ties} & the Parliaments proceedings there, w^{ch} I beseech God to direct & governe, as may be most for y^e honor & prosperity of yo^r Ma^{tie} & of your royall posterity & all yo^r kingdomes, and this shall ever be y^e dayly prayers of,

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble & obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

As I was making up this packet I receaved an order of the

¹ This refers to the proceedings of the Star Chamber against the City for non-performance of conditions in the charter granted to them by James the First. Vide Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 376.

² i.e. the Queen Dowager of France. See what Mr. Evelyn says of her in his Journal.

The departure of the Queen Mother from England, where she had arrived in 1638, was palatable to the Parliam^t party, whose scribes at that period vomited forth the harshest vituperatives against her. In a curious astrological reprint of Grebner's book, accompanied by observations on the life and death of Charles, it is said that on her coming, "all men were against her, for it was observed that wherever or unto whatever Country this miserable old Queen came, there followed immediately after her either the plague, war, famine, or one misfortune or another."—Yet the same writer, when speaking of her departure, says, "a sad spectacle it was, and produced tears from mine eyes and many other beholders, to see an aged leane decrepit poore Queen, ready for her grave, necessitated to depart hence, having no place of residence in this world left her, but where the curtesie of her hard fortune assigned it. She had beene the onely statelie and magnificent woman in Europe."—She had, whilst in England, an allowance of £100 per day; and the Parliam^t gave her £10,000 or travelling expences when going away.

³ The King's confidence and indulgence towards Vane, upon all occasions, though so badly requited, was extremely remarkable. Sir Philip Warwick, in

You may assure euery one, that now all difficulties arased heere, as I have co'manded Vane to tell you more at large.³

Upper House of Parliam^t to Sir Jo. Penington¹ for y^e stay of ships bound for Ireland, a copy whereof I send inclosed, but whether there be any such ships in y^e Downes, I cannot learne y^e certeynty. The Queenes Ma^{tie} tells me she will not wryte till Munday by Mr. Murray.

Westminster, 28^o Aug. 1641.

Eden. 3 Sep.

The King to Sir John Finch, Lord Keeper.

My Lo. Keeper,

Y^e answer that I can giue to yours of 31. of Aug. is only, that I am very well satisfied wth it : wherefore y^e cheefe subiect of this is, that hauing understood, that y^e Lower House, in passing y^e Bill of Tunnage & Poundage, forgot to reserue that aduantage to y^e merchant in diuers comodities w^{ch} I haue usually granted, therefore I co'maund you tell y^e Citty in my name, that thoughe their owne burgesses forgot them in P^{liam}^t, yet I meane to supply that defect out of my affecc^{'on} to them, soe that they may see that they need noe mediators to me, but my owne good thoughts ; for as yet I assure you that I have not bene sued to in this particular by any on their behalfe. Soe I rest

Your assured frend,

Eden. 7 Sep. 1641.

C. R.

I have com'anded Nicholas to speake to you concerning the insolencies com^{'itted} in y^e forest.

The above is in Sir E. N.'s hand-writing, and is thus indorsed :

“ 7^o 7^{bris} 1641. Copy of his Ma^{ties} let^r to my Lo. Keeper, to be communicated to the Citty.”

his Memoirs, states a curious instance of it ; where, speaking of the economy of Charles's Court, he says that “ besides the women who attended on his beloved Queen and Consort, he scarce admitted any great officer to have his wife in the family. Sir Henry Vane was the first, that I knew in that kind, who having a good diet as Comptroller of the Household, and a tenuity of fortune, was winked at ; so as the Court was filled, not crammed.”

¹ Sir John Pennington was a distinguished naval officer of that period, and was appointed by the King, a few months afterwards, to the command of the fleet ; against this, the Parliament remonstrated in favour of the Earl of Warwick, and Sir John was obliged to resign. There was another Pennington,

This dispathe
I receaved this
morning, but
tell my Wyfe
that I haue
found falte
with you, be-
cause none of
hers was with-
in it.

Tell him, that
I am satisfyed
with his letter,
as indeed I am
with you for
the continuall
accounts ye
giue mee of my
businesses.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

In the King's hand :
Monday 20 Sep.

May it please yo^r Ma^{tie},

I have by my Lo. Carr receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} com'aunds of y^e 8th of this moneth, apostiled upon my let^r of y^e 31th of Aug. last, & have presented y^r Ma^{ties} to my Lo. Keeper, whoe hath alreddy com'unicated to my Lo. Mayor the effect of yo^r Ma^{ties} grac'ous intenc'on towards y^e merchants that were not provided for by y^e Act of Tonnage & Poundage, w^{ch} was most dutifully & gratefully receaved by y^e Lo. Mayor, who will make known yo^r Ma^{ties} great goodnes to all y^e merchants of this Citty. My Lo. Keeper hath appointed my Lo. Bankes, Mr. Attorney, S^r Art. Maynewaring & myself, to attend his Lo^{pp} att his house in y^e country on Munday next, to consider of y^e ryot com'itted in yo^r Ma^{ties} forrest of Windsor, & of some fitting course to prevent y^e killing of any more deere there.

I have herewth sent yo^r Ma^{tie} a list of y^e names of y^e Com'ittees of y^e Com'ons House, & y^e instrucc'ons given to them, w^{ch} I have gotten wth some difficulty.

The Com'ittees of y^e Lo^{ds} met yesterday in y^e afternoone in y^e Painted Chamber, & those of y^e Com'ons in y^e Excheq^r Chamber apart by themselves, & afterwards iointly. All their busines was to peruse and annswere le^{rs}, w^{ch} they receaved from my Lo. G^rall,¹ & their Comittees in Scotland, & to take order for monnyes for paym^t of the army, trayne of artillery, and garrisons.² They have given order to my Lo. Adm^{ll} to send shippes to y^e Holy Island³ to fetch thence ordinance and amunic'on, &c. as yo^r Ma^{tie} by y^e order inclosed may perceave. I heare that these Com'ittees have

at that period, extremely active ; but his name was Isaac, and he is very harshly spoken of by the loyal writers of that time, as a man who had enriched himself most flagitiously in the service, or rather through the influence and power of the Parliament. He was a merchant in the City.

¹ Earl of Essex.

² The Lord General stated in his letters that it was the intention of the Scottish Parliament to keep 5000 in array, until the whole of the English army was disbanded, and the "fortifications at Berwick and Carlisle sighted."

³ On the coast of Northumberland.

written to y^e Com'ittees in Scotland, they if by their next let^{rs} they shall certefy them that there is noe more busines for them in Scotland, then they will consider of calling them home.

By a copy herewth sent, yo^r Ma^{ties} will perceave y^e course that is here taken for paym^t & discharge of y^e garrison of Carlile, & accordingly the Paymaster hath alreddy received £4000, & is too-morrow to have y^e rest of the monny, for y^e p^esent carriage, whereof he hath taken order, soe as it shal be there by y^e 3d or 4th of 8^{ber}, w^{ch} is y^e soonest it can possibly be carried thither by cart.

The Declarac'on of y^e Com'ons House ¹ was Sunday last read in y^e parishe church here in Westminster, & is sent to y^e sheriffs of all counties to be published. There is noe man prayeth more fervently for yo^r Ma^{ties} prosperous dispatch of yo^r affaires there, & safe & speedy returne, than

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

I heare y^e Com'ittees here have taken order for monnyes for paym^t & discharge of yo^r Ma^{ties} garrison at Berwick, & that it is to be sent downe att 3 severall sendings, w^{ch} will require some longer tyme.

Westminster, 15^o Sep^{bris}, 1641.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excell^{nt} Ma^{ties},

According to my advertisem^t yesterday, both Houses of Parliam^t have this day adiourned till 20^o Octo^{br} next. They have appoynted Comittees to meete during the recesse,² & their first day of meeting is to be Tuesday next, & then they are to adiourne from tyme to tyme as they shall thinke good. Their principall busines

¹ This was against all superstitious rites and observances in public worship; amongst which they enumerated crucifixes, images of the Virgin Mary, bowing at the name of Jesus, &c. They also ordered the Communion Tables to be moved from the east end of all churches and chapels; and all sports and pastimes to be prevented on Sunday.

² Lists of those Committees may be found in the 9th volume of the Parliamentary History, p. 536.

is to receive & annswere all le^{rs} from Scotland, according to instrucc'ons alreddy given to the Comittees there, whom they have power to call home if they see cause. They have also power to send downe monny to y^e army, & to doe what they shall think requisite for y^e disbanding of it, & to dispose of y^e cannons and artillery in y^e North, and they are to make report of the whole busines att y^e next meeting of both Houses.

There was not att parting a very p'fect agreem^t (as I heare) betwene the 2 Houses in all things, for the Peers declyning to ioyn wth the Com'ons in orders touching innovac'ons in y^e Church, the Com'ons notwithstanding ordered y^e same to be printed, the particulars of w^{ch} orders are here inclosed.¹ I heare that the Lo^{ds} & Com'ons have intimated that none of the disbanded soldiers, either horse & foote, Englishe or Irishe, shalbe p'mitted to serve either the ffrench or Spanishe King, but that they may serve the States.² Upon a report that the Spanish and ffrench³ Amb'dors had treated wth diverse of the horse & foote to serve their masters, the Co'mons House sent 2 of their members to each of their Amb'dors to know by what warr^t they did goe about to levy any soldiers here, & by whose procurement they obteyned such warr^{ts}, but (it seemes) they could discover nothing att all.

I receaved
yours of the 8:
yesterday, this,
this day: but
tell my Wife,
that in nether
of them, there
was anie from
her.

If you would
haue beene
sure of secre-
cie, you should
haue inclosed
them under my
couer.

As soone this day as the L^{ds} House was adiourned, I receaved from Withering's deputy 2 packetts of le^{rs}, y^e one directed to yo^r Ma^{tie} and y^e whole P'liam^t, the other to y^e L^{ds} in P'liam^t; both w^{ch} I have sent now to Mr. Th'rer⁴ for yo^r Ma^{tie}. I humbly beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} that this le^r may be seene by noe other eye than yo^r owne, for I assure you the houses are very inquisitive after these that

¹ The Lords did not quarrel with the spirit of the resolutions of the House of Commons; but they made some slight alterations in the details. The Commons, however, went further on the day before adjournment than they had ventured to do previously; for it was ordered that a lecture might be set up, and an orthodox minister might be maintained at the expence of any parishioners to preach on various occasions through the week, and also on the Sabbath where there was no sermon.

² This leave to serve the States does not appear on the Parliamentary Records.

³ Popular prejudice had arisen to a great height against those diplomatic personages; for the House of Lords found it necessary on the 30th of August to issue an order for the punishment of some rioters who had insulted the French Ambassador and his servants.

⁴ Sir Henry Vane.

advertise yo^r Ma^{tie} of any parliament busines. I hope yo^r Ma^{tie} will now hasten for England, to put yo^r affaires here in good order, the armies being all disbanded but 4 regim^{ts}. I humbly beg yo^r Ma^{ties} pardon for this tedious discourse from,

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble and obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

It was almost nine o'clock at night before y^e Com^{'ons} did adiourne; but y^e Lo^{ds} adiourned at 3 in y^e afternoone.

Westminster, 9^o Sep^{bris}, 1641.

Eden. 13.

“For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}.”

“Yours apostyled.”

In Sir E. N.'s handwriting: 9^o Sep^{bris} 1641. apostil. 13^o.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r Ma^{tie},

The le^r inclosed from my Lo. Marshall will give yo^r Ma^{tie} an accompt of y^e Q. Mothers landing & recepc^{'on} in y^e Low Countries, by y^e care of y^e Prince of Orange. The Houses of Parliam^t here begin to be att some difference one wth another; the Peers take it not well that y^e Com^{'ons} comanded to be printed an order for abolishing of innovac^{'ons}, &c.¹ wthout their approbac^{'on}, and thereupon their Lo^{pps} caused to be printed a former order made for observing y^e Booke of Com^{'on} Prayer, whereupon (I heare) y^e Com^{'ons} made (on thursday night a little before their adiournem^t) a Declarac^{'on}² against y^e Lords said former order, & some of y^e L^{ds} have also made a protestac^{'on} against y^e same & entred it in their house, as yo^r Ma^{tie} may perceave by y^e protestacc^{'on} herewth sent, & by the Declarac^{'on} of y^e Com^{'ons} House, w^{ch} (I am tould) is sent to Mr. Th^{'rer} by his sonne, but I cannot here pro-

I am not much
sorie for it.

¹ This is the order formerly alluded to. Previous to adjournment, on the 9th, the Lords desired a conference on the subject of orders respecting Divine Service: but the Commons, without noticing that desire, instantly passed a resolution “that this House doth not consent to these orders, or to any of them.” The Lords who signed this protest were, Bedford, Warwick, Clare, Newport, Wharton, and Kimbolton.

² Copies of these Declarations may be found in Rushworth's Collections; also in Nalson's.

cure a copy it. I have herewth sent yo^r Ma^{tie} a copy of an ordinance of both Houses concerning y^e raysing & transporting of forces out of England & Irland. By a le^r w^{ch} is sent in this packet from S^r John Colepeper¹ to Marq. Hamilton, & by another sent by young S^r H. Vane to his father,² yo^r Ma^{tie} (if you call for y^e same) may see all the passages of y^e Com^{'ons} House since Munday morning, w^{ch} have beene soe various & dissonant, as may be worthy yo^r Ma^{ties} observac^{'on} & informac^{'on}.

I am glad of that.
You may now say confidently in my name that they ar.

There hath beene nothing spoken hitherto in Parliament concerning yo^r Ma^{ties} Generall Pardon. If yo^r Ma^{tie} overcome all difficulties there, & make firme to you yo^r good people of that kingdom, I beleve it will not be difficult for you to put all things here in good order att y^e next recesse, by carrying a steddy and moderate hand upon yo^r affaires.

Yo^r Ma^{tie} will I hope pardon the tedious and empty le^{trs} w^{ch} you receive from,

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 10 Sep^{bris} 1641.

Eden: 16:

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{'tie}."

"Yours apostyled." 10 7^{bris} 1641. Apost. 16^o.

On the opposite page, in the King's hand-writing:

I co[']mand you to draw up anie such warrant, as my Wyfe shall direct you, for the disposing of the great Collar of Rubies³ that is in Holland, & tell her how I have directed you to wait her co[']-mands in this; & that I am confident of your secrecie in this, & anie thing else, that I shall trust you with. C. R.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r Ma^{tie},

I cannot add any thing of advertisem^t worthy yo^r Ma^{ties} notice since my last of y^e 10th of this present, only I can tell yo^r Ma^{tie} that y^e Declarac^{'on} of y^e Com^{'ons} (whereof I could not then pro-

¹ He was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

² Sir Henry Vane, sen. held his situation only until the 26th of November, when he was succeeded by Lord Falkland, immediately after the King's return.

³ This, though a delicate affair, was not so dangerous as two years afterwards, when the Parliament, understanding that the Queen had pawned the crown jewels in Holland, ordered that whoever had, or should pay, lend, send, or bring, any money or specie into the kingdom, for or upon those jewels, or accept of any bill hereafter, should be considered an enemy to the state.

cure a copy) is now printed, as y^e Duke of Richmond¹ can shew yo^r Ma^{tie}, to whome I have sent one from y^e Ea. of Portland.² Mr. Th^rer's l^{er} of y^e 7th present, puts y^e Queene in expectac'on every howre of l^{rs} from yo^r Ma^{tie} by y^e Lo. Carr.

Besides y^e Queenes l^{ers}, yo^r Ma^{tie} will herein receave one from my Lo. Keeper, who humbly prayes yo^r Ma^{ties} pleasure for a new Sheriff for Nottinghamshire, as Mr. Th^rer will acquaint yo^r Ma^{tie}. I find alreddy that I shall not (now y^e Parliamt is adiourned) have much occasion to trouble yo^r Ma^{ties} wth l^{rs}, but I shalbe never the lesse vigilant & industrious in my care to approve myself

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 13^o Sep^{b^{ris}} 1641.

Eden. 17.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I received yesterday yo^r Ma^{ties} of the 13th of this moneth by Mr. ffrisoll, & in it a let^r to the Queene, w^{ch} I instantly presented to her Royall hands, & acquainted her wth what yo^r Ma^{tie} commaunded me. Her Ma^{tie} tells me she wrote lately by my Lo. Carr,³ & intends to write againe to yo^r Ma^{tie} on Munday next by Mr. Wm. Murrey, & therefore forbeares to send by this packet, w^{ch} I

¹ De Larrey, in his characters, describes the Duke as at the head of the royalist Lords, not only from his near relationship to the King, but also on account of his personal qualities. At the early age of twenty-one he had been made a Privy Councillor, and married to the Duke of Buckingham's daughter. —“His wit, his courage, and his affection for the King, made him worthy the esteem and favour of the Court. But two qualities which he had, prevented his being serviceable to the King, who loved him : the one was, his too great diffidence of himself ; and the other (quite opposite) too great a haughtiness in point of honour. By the first he rendered himself too dependent ; and by the latter, too obnoxious.”

² Jerome Weston, second Earl to that title ; a family now extinct.

³ Lord Ker of Cesford ; son to the Earl of Roxburgh, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, the first peer of the family, and ancestor of the Dukes of Roxburgh.

I have dispatched this as is desyred, & tell the Keeper that I expect a speedie account of this letter I send him.

And this lyke-
waies is meerlie
for the conuey-
ance of thease
two inclosed.

Ye had reason.
Eden: 23 Sept.
1641.

now dispatch for conveyance of the inclosed from my Lo^d Keeper. I had sent the 2 let^{rs} (w^{ch} were directed to yo^r Ma^{tie} & y^e Parliam^t) under yo^r Ma^{ties} owne cover, but that I founde it was divulged by Withering's deputy, that there were such let^{rs} came to his hands, and by him sent to me, soe that it had beene a vayne thing for me to have concealed y^e same from Mr. Th^rer, who I was sure had advertisem^t of them by another hand. All things here are in a great still, every one being busy in listening after the proceedings of the Parliam^t in Scotland, where Mr. Th^rer writes the people are stiffe, & seeme to be resolute not to recede from their proposic^ons, w^{ch} in my poore iudgem^t is bad newes, and of very ill example to us here.

I humbly thanke yo^r Ma^{tie} for yo^r gracious leave granted me to reside at my house att Thorpe, for y^e sickness & small pox continues very rife in London and Westminster. I am now once a day, or att least once in 2 dayes, att Oatlands, and intended to be att Westminster every tuesday & wensday, to attend what shalbe donne there by the Comittees, having nothing in my affecc^on or ambition soe much, as by anexact dilligence & fidelity to approve myself

Y^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Thorpe, 18^o Sep^{b^{ris}}, 1641.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excel^t Ma^{tie},

Yesterday I sent by packet a le^r to yo^r Ma^{tie} from the Lo. Keeper, & should not now have troubled yo^r Ma^{tie}, but that the oportunity of safe conveyance by this gent. doth prompt me humbly to minde yo^r Ma^{tie} of some things in my poore opinion worthy yo^r Royall considerac^on.

I am confident yo^r Ma^{tie} doth by this time cleerly perceave, how it is here insinuated upon all occasions, that Popery (w^{ch} is generally exceeding distastefull to yo^r su^{b^{ts}} of this kingdome) is too much favoured by yo^r clergy here, & in yo^r owne Court, &

that this opinion (how vniustly soever laid by Brownists¹ on yo^r Ma^ties governm^t) hath & doth (more than any thing) preiudice yo^r Ma^tie in y^e esteeme & affecc^on of yo^r people, whose love I humbly conceave to be soe much yo^r Ma^ties interest, as that it ought to be preserved & reteyned by yo^r Ma^tie by all possible meanes : wherefore I humbly offer to yo^r Ma^ties considerac^on whether it be not requisite, that yo^r Ma^tie should now (during this recesse) give some publique assuraunce to the contrary : w^{ch} I humbly conceave may be donne by yo^r p^esent conferring of such Bp^ricks and eccles^{call} dignities as are now voyde vpon persons, of whome there is not the least suspic^on of favouring the Popish partie, such as may be² Dr. Prideaux, Bromwich, Gouge, Mr. Shute, & y^e like, if they will in these tymes accept of such p^eferm^{ts}, for I assure yo^r Ma^tie I am vnknowne to all and every one of them. Such men thus p^eferred, would not only give assurance of yo^r Ma^ties firme resoluc^on to maynteyne the Protestant religion here professed, but by filling vpp of y^e vacant Bp^ricks wth such persons, yo^r Ma^tie would gayne not only their votes for Episcopacy, &c. but many more, who seeing such divines p^eferred, would rest confident that there is noe intenc^on to introduce or connive at Popery.

Also concerning the booke of Co^mon Prayer, (to partes whereof y^e late Declarac^on of y^e Co^mons House shewes there is some excepc^on), yo^r Ma^tie having constituted such Bp^{ps}, may be pleased to declare yo^r reddines to reforme what shalbe thought amisse in it by yo^r clergy & Parliam^t, w^{ch} will prevent those that (in a zeale wthout knowledge) seek to overthrow y^e good government & order wisely established in this Church : & thus by yo^r

I thanke you fore putting me in mynd of the vacancie of Bishobrikes, therefore I co^o-mand you to direct the B. of London to send me a list of all the vacant Bishobrikes, & those notes w^{ch} he & I made concerning the filling of those places.

Brownrigg.

¹ It is unnecessary, with respect to these schismatics, to notice their peculiar tenets, any further than to remind the reader that they were as inimical to the Church of England as they professed to be to Popery. Their schism, also, began as early as the time of Elizabeth ; and perhaps the love of persecution might have been as clearly manifested in power, as it was evident in adversity ; for their founder boasted on his death-bed that he had been in thirty-two prisons during his religious warfare with the established authorities.

² Prideaux was Canon of Christ Church, Oxford ; he was made Bishop of Worcester in 1641, and died in 1650. Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Durham, was made Bishop of Exeter in 1641. Gouge and Shute were two principal leaders of the dissenting persuasion, and always abided by their old congregations.

Mat^{ies} tymely moderac'on, you will put a bitt in their mouthes, who (vpon a popular pretence of y^e reliques of Popery) cry downe all that is of good order or decency in the Church.

Hitherto, I lyke your opinion well, but concerning the rest, I know not what to say, if it be not to aduertice my Wyfe of the Parlements intention concerning hir Capuchins, & so first to heare what she will say.

On the contrary I thanke you for this honnest freedom.

And for a further assuraunce of yo^r Mat^{ies} integrity in this reformat'ion, I humbly offer it to yo^r Mat^{ies} considerac'on whether it may not be necessary (before y^e next meeting in P'liam^t) to send away all the Capucins¹ & dissolve their cloyster, for if yo^r Mat^{ie} doe it not yo^rself, I am misinformed if y^e P'liam^t fall not vpon them when they come againe together; & it would be much more for yo^r Mat^{ies} hon^r, & more acceptable to yo^r people, & (it may be) safer for y^e Capucins, if in that particular yo^r Mat^{ie} prevented the P'liam^t.

And now I humbly beg yo^r Mat^{ies} pardon for my presumc'on in tendering to yo^r great wisdome these my vndigested thoughts, w^{ch} I assure yo^r Mat^{ie} have beene comunicated to noe other person in the world, but are (wthout any p'tic'lar designe) meere the yssues of my weake iudgem^t & indulgent care of yo^r Mat^{ies} honor, p^eservac'on & service, w^{ch} I preferre before any thing in this world that can concerne

Yo^r sacred Mat^{ies}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Thorpe, 19 Sep^{bris}, 1641.

Eden. 26.

"For yo^r sacred Mat^{ie}."

"Yours apostyled."

Superscribed by Sir E. N. "19^o Sep^{bris} 1641. Apostl. 26^o. his Mat^{ie} thanks me for his le^r and my freedome in it.

It was sent by Mr. W^m. Murrey."

¹ This order had been introduced on the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria, and had been allowed to make an establishment here.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent M^tie,

Yesterday S^r Job Harby,¹ & I attended the Queene about yo^r Mat^{ies} collar of rubies, vpon w^{ch} he saith there is alreddy 25^{mo}. Her Mat^{ie} hath let him vnderstand yo^r Mat^{ies} pleasure concerning y^e disposing of it, whereupon he hath promised that he and S^r Jo. Nulls (who hath bene formerly imployed in the pawning of it) will forthwth write to y^e partie in Holland wth whome it lyes engaged, to see what more monny may be had vpon it, and if that man will not lend any further considerable som^e, then S^r Job promiseth to doe his best to procure elsewhere as much more vpon it as he can, & therewth redeeme it out of the hands where it now lyes, & get y^e overplus for yo^r Mat^{ie}, & he assures the Queene, that he will doe this wth secrecy, and all possible diligence.

This inclosed from my Lo. Keeper was brought to me the last night to be conveyed to yo^r Mat^{ie}, & will I hope give yo^r Mat^{ie} an account of yo^r last let^r to his Lo^{pp}. Yo^r Mat^{ie} may be pleased to procure from y^e P^{li}ament there some further reiterac^on of their declarac^on, that what yo^r Mat^{ie} hath consented vnto concerning y^e election of Officers there may not be drawne into example to yo^r Mat^{ies} preiudice here, for if I am not misinformed there wilbe some attempt to procure the like Act heere concerning Officers before y^e Act of Tonnage & Poundage wilbe passed to yo^r Mat^{ie} for lief.

I heare that y^e Committee of the Com^ons hath appointed to take into considerac^on yo^r Mat^{ies} Revenue y^e next weeke, and that they will then set at least twice a weeke.³ I am vnwilling to give

I wonder of this, for he or Crispe,² assured me before my parting from London that it would be absolutlie free, before Bartholemytyde, therefore know the cause of this mistaking housouer I lyke the cource now taken by my Wyfe in this.

It is so, & lykes me well.

I lyke your proposition, and shall gett as much as I may, howeuer I thanke you for youraduertisement.

I pray God, it be to good purpose, & that there be no knavery in it.

¹ He was of an ancient Northamptonshire family, the Harbys of Adston. His sister Emma was married to Robert Charlton, of Whitton, Esq. who suffered much for his loyalty in the cause of Charles the Second. Their son Sir Job was a Judge in the Common Pleas, and created a Baronet.

² This seems to be the same person afterwards engaged, in 1643, in the plan to seize the city of London for the King; in which Edmund Waller was a party, according to Rushworth's account; though Clarendon considers their plans as completely distinct.

³ The power given to these Committees, during the recess, was of a most unprecedented nature, almost equal to that of the three estates of the legisla-

I command
you to send, in
my name to all
those Lords
that my Wyfe
shall tell you
of, that they
faile not to at-
tend at the
downe sitting
of the Parlia-
ment.

yo^r Ma^{tie} in yo^r great affaires there too long an interruption with
the tedious lynes of,

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Thorpe, 24^o Sep^{bris} 1641.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

Being yesterday at Oatlands to attend the Queenes com'aunds,
her Ma^{tie} gaue me this paper inclos'd, wth comaund to send it this
day to yo^r Ma^{tie}: it was brought to y^e Queene by y^e Lady Carlile,¹
who saith she had it from y^e Lo. Mandeville.² I confesse it were
not amise to have it published, but I had rather it should be
donne by any other hand then yo^r Ma^{ties} or y^e Queenes, &
therefore I could wishe yo^r Ma^{tie} would conceale it for a day
or 2, by w^{ch} tyme I know there wilbe other coppies of it sent into
Scotland.

I shall.

The late crosse orders, & vnusuall passages in P^{liam}'t a little
before y^e Recesse, are so distastfull to y^e wiser sorte, as it hath
taken off y^e edge of their confidence in parliamentary proceedings,
& I verily beleeeve, that if y^e Houses (when they next meete) shall
approve of what was then done, it will loose them ye reverence
that hath bene heretofore paid to Parliam^{ts}.

ture. In vol. ix. of the Parliamentary History, page 537, a copy of them is
inserted.

¹ This was the Dowager Carlisle, Lady Lucy Percy, second wife, and, at
this date, relict of James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle; a lady of great note in her
time, celebrated by Waller, and an intimate acquaintance of Pym, and several
of his party. Clarendon accuses her of perplexing the King's affairs. She
was old enough to give up love for politics, being then upwards of forty.

² Son to the first Earl of Manchester of the Montague family, and formerly a
personal friend of the King, having accompanied him on his romantic journey
to Spain. The nature of the paper here alluded to, may be surmised from
the fact that Lord Mandeville was an active member of the party which, at that
period, was anxious to prevent a civil war by the removal of arbitrary minis-
ters from the Royal Councils. In the preceding year he had been one of
the Commissioners to arrange all causes of dispute with Scotland. He was

I heare there are divers meetings att Chelsey att y^e Lo. Mandevilles house & elsewhere by Pym¹ and others, to consult what is best to be donne at their next meeting in P^rliam^t: & I beleeeve they will in y^e first place fall on some plausible thing, that may reintegrate them in y^e people's good opinion, w^{ch} is their anchor-hold & only interest; & (if I am not much misinformed) that wilbe either vpon Papists, or vpon some Act for expunging of Officers and Counsellors here according to y^e Scottish p^{re}cedent, or on both together, & therefore it will import yo^r Ma^{tie}, by some serious and faithfull advise, to doe some thing to anticipate or prevent them before their next meeting.

Yesterday at Oatlands I understood that S^r Jo. Berkeley & Capt. O'Neale² were come over, & that they had bene the day before privately at Waybridge: I was bould then to deliver my opinion to y^e Queene, that I did beleeeve if they continued in England they would be arrested (thoughe y^e P^rliam^t sit not) by vertue of y^e warrant, that was given att first to y^e Sarjant at Armes (attending y^e Com[']ons House) to attache them. Her Ma^{tie} seemed (when I tould it to her) to app^hend noe lesse, & will I believe take order that notice may be given to them of y^e danger of it, but her Ma^{tie} for y^e p^{re}sent said she knew not where they were.

best known, however, as the Lord Kimbolton, having at this period been called to the Upper House for his father's barony, though retaining the title of Viscount Mandeville by courtesy. Vide Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 93, for further particulars. His brother, Walter Montague, was a bigoted Catholic priest, Abbot of Pontoise in France, and Confessor to the Queen after the death of Father Philips: he is further noticed in subsequent letters.

¹ This was a very short time previous to the tumults of the London apprentices, of which Pym, with several others, were strongly suspected of being instigators. Subsequently the City found it necessary to check those riots, and Venn, one of their members, having exerted himself to keep the peace, a party pamphlet observed that the rioters would have proceeded to the Mansion House, "but by the providence of God, and the great wisdom of Captain Ven, they were prevented."

² O'Neale was deeply implicated in what was called the plot for bringing up the English army against the Parliament, in which Percy, Goring, Ashburnham, and several others were said to have been engaged. May, in his History of the Parliament, p. 65, (Mason's Edition,) calls O'Neale an Irishman and a Papist; and states that he was committed to the Tower, but escaped before trial.

Berkeley was an officer of high rank, always active in the King's service, and is repeatedly mentioned by Clarendon, particularly as Governor of Exeter, which he was obliged to surrender to the Parliamentary forces.

It were not amiss that some of my seruaunts met lykewais to countermynd ther Plots, to w^{ch} end speake wth my Wyfe & receaue her directions.

I wonder at
this, for all
this last Month
euery thurd
day at furthest
I have written
to her.

The Queene being now every day in expectac'on of le^{rs} from
yo^r Ma^{tie} (having receaved non since tuesday last) doth forbear to
write by this dispatch.

Wee know not y^e importance of y^e affaires there that deteyne
yo^r Ma^{tie} soe long, but it is by those that wishe best to yo^r service
here, thought very necessary that yo^r Ma^{tie} should hasten to be
here as soone as may be possible before y^e 20th of 8^{ber}; and if yo^r
Ma^{tie} leave behinde you some Councillors that you carryed hence
it is thought yo^r Councells here will not prosper the worse, nor be
the lesse secreat, only it may be yo^r Ma^{tie} may thereby deprive
some menc'oned in y^e paper inclosed of their wonted intelligence.
I beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to vouchsafe to advertise me whether this come
safe to yo^r Royall hands, & to burne it, that it may never rise in
iudgement against,

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Thorpe, 27 Sep^b * 1641.

Eden. 2 Oct.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I had noe sooner sent away my packet on Munday last but I
receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} apostile of y^e 20th p^esent, & wth it a le^r to y^e
Queene, w^{ch} I forthwth p^esented to her royall hand, & yesterday I
receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} apostile of y^e 23th of this moneth, & instantly
sent away yo^r Ma^{ties} let^r to the Queene & that to my Lo. Keeper.
I tould y^e Queene that yo^r Ma^{tie} had blamed me, that in severall
of my dispatches there was no le^r from her Ma^{tie}, for w^{ch} she hath
now made a recompence by sending me two l^{rs}, w^{ch} yo^r Ma^{tie} shall
herein receave.

The Com[']ittees of y^e Peers met not yesterday, but will tuesday
next.¹ The Com[']ons Comittees met, & had before them S^r Jo.

¹ The Report of these Committees was made to the Parliament, on their

Tell her that
this doble
amends is
abondant
satisfaction.

Berkley & Capt. O'Neale, who coming over lately, were (as I heare) yesterday apprehended by y^e servaunt of y^e Serjant att Armes (attending y^e House of Com'ons) vpon y^e first warraunt that was issued for taking of them, & y^e Com'ittees would not bayle them, though they tendred it, alleaging they had not power to doe it.

I hope some day they may repent there seueritie.

Yesterday y^e Remembrancer of the Citty of London came to me from the Lo. Mayor & Court of Aldermen, & desired me to present to yo^r Ma^{tie} the humble & dutifull thanks of the Citty for yo^r Ma^{ties} great grace & goodnes in y^e busines of Tonnage & Poudage. I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} that yo^r grac'ous le^r concerning that matter hath wrought much vpon y^e affecc'ons, not only of y^e merchaunts, but of diverse others of this Citty.

The Remembrancer tould me further, that y^e Lo^d Mayor & Aldermen desired him to enquire of y^e day when yo^r Ma^{tie} wilbe here, to y^e end that, according to their dutifull affecc'ons, they might meete yo^r Ma^{tie}, to attend yo^r royall person into this Citty, though he said y^e Citty (being become poore) were not able to give yo^r Ma^{tie} any p^esent according to their custom. I have promised to let them know when yo^r Ma^{tie} wilbe here as soone as I shall know y^e certeynty of it. Of all w^{ch} I thought it my duty to advertise yo^r Ma^{tie}, that I may therein doe nothing but what may be agreeable to yo^r Ma^{ties} good pleasure; notwthstanding I humbly conceive it imports yo^r Ma^{tie} to cherish y^e affecc'ons & goodwill of this Citty.

When ye shall see littell Will: Murray then ye shall know certainlie not onlie of my returne, but also how all will end heer.

By let^{rs} to partic'lar p'sons (w^{ch} I have seene) dated 25^o 7^{bris}, it is advertised from Edenb. that yo^r Ma^{tie} hath nominated y^e Lo. Lodian to be Chancellor. Whatsoever y^e newes be that is come hither amongst y^e partie of y^e Protesters, they are observed to be here of late very iocund & cheerefull, & it is conceived to arise from some advertisements out of Scotland, from whose acc'ons & successes they intend (as I heare) to take a patterne for their proceeding here att their next meeting. I hartely pray for yo^r

It is Loudun not.

I belue before all be done that they will not have such great cause of joy.

meeting, by Mr. Pym. A copy of it is inserted in vol. x. of the Parliamentary History, p. 1.

Pym, in this report, says that Berkeley and O'Neale came voluntarily to his lodgings, for the purpose of submitting to the orders of the House; after which the deputy serjeant attached them on the first order.

Mat^{ies} speedy & happy returne, as being (of all men) most obliged to be

Yo^r sacred Mat^{ies}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 29^o Sep^{bris} 1641.

Eden. 5 Oct.

This day I received yours of the 1: Oct.

“For yo^r sacred Mat^{ie}.”

“Yours apostyled.”

29^o 7^{bris} 1641. Apost. 5 8^{bris}.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excell^{nt} Mat^{ie},

These inclosed from y^e Queene & my Lo. Keeper were brought to me y^e last night late to be sent to yo^r Mat^{ie}. I have not as yet received from the B^{pp} of London¹ a list of the vacant Bp^{ricks}: I beleve his Lo^p hath not finished the notes yo^r Mat^{ie} & his Lo^{pp} made concerning that busines, w^{ch} he tould me were very imperfect.

I beseech yo^r Mat^{ie} to give me leave to put you in minde that there is noe one thing that you can now doe, that will better rectify y^e ielousies of yo^r good people, more satisfie their mindes, & settle their affecc^{ons} to yo^r Mat^{ie}, then y^e good choyce you make of such as yo^r Mat^{ie} shall now appoint to be B^{pps}; & as it wilbe much for yo^r service that y^e new B^{pps} be plausible persons, & beyond except^{on}, soe there would be a great care had that noe B^{pp} be removed, of whome there is any suspic^{on} of being any wayes popishly affected, or otherwise much disliked.

I dout not but in this to giue good satisfaction.

The partie here, who we say hath y^e best intelligence from Scotland (w^{ch} is Mr. Pym & young S^r Hen. Vane), report that y^e Ea. of Arguile² is Chauncellor of that Kingdome; it seemes it was soe designed.

Ye may see by this that all ther desynes hit not, & I hope before all be done that they shall miss of more.

¹ Dr. Juxon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

² This report was false, as the King observes. Argyle was not Chancellor of Scotland. But Charles granted him a Marquisate; yet he was afterwards beheaded for high treason, the year after the Restoration. It is remarkable, however, that in 1651 he actually put the crown upon the head of Charles the Second at Edinburgh.

I hear Mr. Th'rer is still at Raby,¹ & that he will not returne to Scotl. before yo^r Ma^{ties} coming thence, w^{ch} makes me humbly to craue yo^r Ma^{ties} com'aund whether I shall contynue the addresse of all packets still to him, or to whome else.

Adresse them
to the Duke
of Richemont.

I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} it is here resolved (if my intelligence doth not much deceaue me) to presse yo^r Ma^{tie}, at y^e next meeting in P'liam^t for y^e like Act touching y^e elecc'on of officers and Councillors here, as yo^r Ma^{tie} hath graunted to y^e Scots; & in this I believe yo^r Ma^{tie} will find a more generall concurrency & accord, then hath bene in any one thing this P'liam^t; for many here say, that otherwise all y^e great offices and places of councillors here, wilbe filled upp wth Scotsmen. I beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to vouchsafe to consider well of this particular, and be pleased to conceale that you have y^e aduertisem^t of it from me.

You shall doe
well to aduys
with some of
my best ser-
uants there
how this may
be preuented,
for I asseur
you, that I
doe not meane
to grant it.

I beseech God to direct & assist yo^r Ma^{tie} and yo^r Councells soe as you may returne wth honour, w^{ch} shall ever be y^e prayer of

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties},

Most humble & most obedient seruaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Thorpe, 3 Octobr. 1641.

Eden. 9.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excell^{nt} Ma^{tie},

Yesterday I receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} com'ands by an apostile vpon my le^r of y^e 24th of y^e last moneth, & forthwth p^esented yo^r Ma^{ties} to y^e Queene, and sent that to my Lo. Keeper; & wth this yo^r Ma^{tie} will receave 2 let^{trs} from y^e Queene, & one from my Lo. Keeper.

It hath bene here confidently said, by those that holde correspondence wth y^e Engl. Comittees in Scotland, that y^e Ea. of Arguile shalbe at length Chauncellor, & that y^e Lo^d Amont² shall not be

¹ His own country seat.

² This was Levingston, Lord Almont, who had the first command under Lesley in the Scottish army, and was afterwards created Earl of Callendar. Charles certainly intended to give him the office of Lord Treasurer, but was forced to put it into commission, naming the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Lothian, and Lindsey, as Commissioners.

Though¹ I cannot returne so soone as I could wishe, yet I am confident that you will fynde ther was necessetie for it, & I hope that manie will miss of there ends.

This may be trew that you say, but I am sure that I miss sumewhat in point of honnor, if they all be not releued before I goe hence.

Th'rer ; & if I am not much misinform'd, they are here as peremptorily resolved to presse & put upon yo^r Ma^{tie} a Lo. Th'rer & some other officers before they will settle yo^r returne, & nothing can brake their designes here but yo^r Ma^{ties} presence ; & if yo^r Ma^{tie} do not hasten to be here some dayes before y^e next meeting in Parliam^t, I doubt there wilbe few that will dare to appeare here to oppose y^e party that now swayeth ; & I pray God there be not some designe in deteyning yo^r Ma^{tie} there till yo^r affaires here be reduced to the same state they there are in. I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e opinion of wise men here is, that to have what officers you desire in that kingdome cannot make soe much for your service there, as yo^r absence hence at this tyme will preiudice you in businesses of more importaunce here : and as for the Lo. Montrosse² & y^e rest, some here (that pretend to understand y^e condic'on of their case) are of opinion, that ther innocency is such, as they will not fare y^e worse for yo^r Ma^{ties} leaving them to y^e ordinary course of justice there.

I am credibly assured, that y^e Citty of London growes very weary of y^e insolent carriage of y^e Schismatics, finding their way of governm^t to be wholly arbitrary. Alderman Gourney [Gurney] (according to his right and place) is elected Lo. Mayor notwithstanding y^e opposic'on of y^e factious party, throughe y^e stoutnes and good affecc'on of one of y^e new Sheriffs (called Clerck), who while y^e factious persons were making a noyse, & would not proceede to y^e elecc'on, proposed Ald'man Gourney (who I heare is very well affected & stout), & carry'd it, & y^e Schismatics (who cryed noe elecc'on) were silenced wth hisses, & thereupon y^e Sheriff dismiss y^e Court.³

Yo^r Ma^{tie} will herewth receive from my Lo. of London y^e notes yo^r Ma^{tie} sent for to him ; his Lo^{pp} is soe lame in his hand &

¹ That the King should find any difficulty in settling his Scottish affairs, seemed very extraordinary to some of the politicians of that time ; Old Grebner, or rather his Editor, says, "The Devill was in the crags of the Scots, if he left them not contented, who gave them whatever they required." Bulstrode, also, in his Memoirs, confirms that fact ; but says, in a more respectful manner, "parted a contented King from a contented people."

² Montrose had very recently quitted the Covenanting party, and joined the King. Vide Guthrie's History of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 328.

³ This is a curious piece of civic history, not to be found in any of their records.

shoulder, as he was not able to write to yo^r Ma^{tie}, for w^{ch} he beggeth yo^r Ma^{ties} pardon. His Lo^p desired me to signify that he hath sent yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e same individuall papers & notes w^{ch} yo^r Ma^{tie} hath formerly seene, because yo^r Ma^{tie} is best acquainted wth them : & he saith that y^e Bp^{ricks} that are voyde have a cipher set before them ; his Lo^p alsoe entreated me to acquaint yo^r Ma^{tie} that y^e party whome you had in yo^r thoughts for y^e Bp^{rick} of Chichester desires to be spared for that place, if yo^r Ma^{tie} soe please, & at yo^r returne he will acquaint yo^r Ma^{tie} w^{ch} y^e reason of it.

I have tould y^e Queene what yo^r Ma^{tie} wrote to me touching y^e Collar of rubies, & by her Ma^{ties} co'maund I have sent to speake wth Sr Job Harby about that busines, whereof by my next I shall give yo^r Ma^{tie} a further accompt. I shall have a care to send in yo^r Ma^{ties} name to all such Lo^{ds} (as y^e Queene shall direct) not to faile to attend y^e downe sitting of y^e P^{liam}'t.

The Committees of both Houses met this afternoone att a conference, they were all bare-headed during y^e conference, both Lo^{ds} & Co'mons by a privatt intimac'on, but if y^e Lo^{ds} should have put on their hatts, y^e Co'mons were resolved to have donne soe likewise. Their conference was concerning some troopers, who flock to y^e Committees in soe great numbers, as they have agreed vpon an order to be fortwth printed for sending them away, a copy of w^{ch} order is herewth sent. Vpon let^{trs} from y^e Lo. Howard, and y^e rest of y^e Com^{'ittees} (advertising that yo^r Ma^{tie} will not come from Scotl. this moneth at soonest) they have

I returne heerewith to the B. of London, not onlie his noats, but also how all the voide Bish :¹ ar to bee filled in a noate aparte, all wth my owen hand ; wherein you ar to obserue two things to him ; first, that I haue tered somewhat frome my former thoughts, to satisfie the tymes, & yet I hope, that I haue not disserued my selfe, in my elections : secondly, that in filling the Bish : I haue voided 3 Deaneries, to witt Westminster, St. Paules, & Ro-

¹ The new-made Bishops were :

BRISTOL.	Thomas Westfield, Archdeacon of St. Alban's, of Jesus College, Cambridge.
CHICHESTER.	Henry King, Dean of Rochester, of Christ Church College, Oxford.
EXETER.	Ralph Brownrigg, Prebendary of Durham, Scholar and Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge.
NORWICH.	Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter.
SALISBURY.	Brian Duppa, of Christ Church, Oxford, Bishop of Chichester, Tutor to the Prince, translated to Winchester.
WORCESTER.	John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church, died 1650.
YORK.	John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper, died 1650.
CARLISLE.	James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, ob. 1655.

cester, w^{ch} I
haue not
thought fitt to
fill, untill my
returne, be-
cause I am not
yet well re-
solved in anie
of them; onlie
I intend (if the
tymes will
suffer it) to
giue that of
Westminster¹
to him that I
intend it
should have
been B. of
Chichester.

leave to come home as they desire, wth power to leave any of their company behinde them if they shall see cause. The Committee of y^e Com'ons here, upon pretence that some of their let^{trs} have mis-carried, doe now send an expresse messenger wth their let^{trs} to their Committees, & I am privatly tould that that messenger carries let^{trs} that advertise all their secret designs from y^e close counsell that have beene held here: & that he sets not forth from hence till too-morrow noone at soonest, soe as this will be wth yo^r Ma^{tie} before him. I beseech God to send yo^r Ma^{tie} a speedy, safe, & ho^{ble} returne, & soe will euer pray,

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 5: 8^{bris}, 1641.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 12.

“For yo^r Sacred Ma^{tie}.”

In the King's writing:

“Yours apostyled.”

5^a 8^{bris} 1641. Apostil^d 12^o. By Sr W^m Balletine.

The Queen to Sir E. Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas, I send you the names of the Lords that I thinke fit to be send for. You must to aduertice the Bishops to be heer, so hauing no more to say I reste

Your assured frend,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

Cumberland, huntintong, bath, Northampton, Deeuonchier, bristoll, Newcastle, Pawlett, Couentry, Seymer, Cotintong.²

If you wood writt to bridgeman³ to com and to speake to all is frends in that contray is in Lencachier and so to as manie

¹ Westminster was at present vacant in consequence of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, having been suspended by the Court of Star Chamber. John Earl was the next holder of the Deanery.

² The preceding Peers may be easily understood, notwithstanding her Majesty's royal grant of new names; and this, which is the most Gallicised, is evidently intended for the Lord Cottington.

³ This most probably was the famous Sir Orlando Bridgeman, then Master of the Court of Wards, and Attorney to the Prince of Wales; or else one of his brothers, sons of the Bishop, two of whom were married into Lancashire families.

as ar your friends: for mene others I haue spokne my selfe to them already.

“For Maistre Nicholas.”

Indorsed, “R. 5^o 8^{bris} 1641, the Queenes let^r to me.”

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

Since my last of y^e 7th present, I receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} comaunds apostiled y^e 2nd of this moneth, & have presented yo^r Ma^{ties} let^r to y^e Queene, whereof I have here^{wth} sent an aunswaere from her Ma^{tie}, w^{ch} came this day to my hands. I have acquainted her Ma^{tie} (as you were pleased to comaund) that yo^r Ma^{tie} wished that some of yo^r servaunts here would meete to countermyne y^e plots here, but y^e Queene saith, that cannot be done in yo^r Ma^{ties} absence. I have written let^{rs} to all such Lo^{ds}, as I have had direc^{ons} to send unto, to attend att ye downe sitting of y^e Parliam^t. Touching yo^r Ma^{ties} Collar of Rubies, y^e Queene wishes that nothing be donne in it till y^e next weeke, when S^r Job Harby saith he shall receive aunswaere to his let^{rs} sent into y^e Low Countries, & in y^e meane tyme I am privatly to informe myself by what warrant that iewell was put into S^r Job Harbyes or any other hands.

I confesse not so well, but yet so much as may doe much good, therefore be diligent in it.

You shall doe well to doe so.

Yo^r Ma^{tie} will herewth receive a let^r from my Lo: Lieutenant of Ireland.¹ The insolency & disorders of y^e disbanded souldiers in & neer this towne is soe great, as y^e Lo^{ds} of y^e Councell (who met this day at Whitehall) have thought fit that some course should be forthwth taken to disperse & send them away, & to that purpose their Lo^{pps} humbly desire to know yo^r Ma^{ties} pleasure whether a proclamac^{on} shal be issued by y^e L^{ds} Com^{issioners} (whome yo^s Ma^{tie} did authorise to set forth proclamac^{ons} upon certeyne occasions in yo^r Ma^{ties} absence) to y^e effect of y^e inclosed printed order of y^e Co^{mittees} of both Houses, (whereof yo^r Ma^{tie} had formerly a copy sent); but this their Lo^{pps} intend should be without taking any notice of that order, unlesse yo^r Ma^{ties} shall

I thinke it most fitt.

by anie means.

¹ The Earl of Leicester—but he never went over to take possession of his Government.

expressly direct that menc'on be made of it ; in this partic'lar their Lo^{ps} pray yo^r Ma^{ties} speedy resoluc'on & order.

The principall cause y^e Lo^{ds} meeting this day in Councell was to consider of some let^{rs} from Irland concerning London Derry,¹ whereupon they have sent to y^e Lo^{ds} Justices for further informa-c'on before they can doe any thing in it. I pray for yo^r Ma^{ties} happy dispatch of yo^r great affaires there, & safe returne for England, as being

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster 9^o Octo^{b^{re}} 1641.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 13.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I receaved (by young S^r Rob: Pye²) on Satterday last yo^r Ma^{ties} com'aunds by apostile of y^e 5th p^{esent}, & am much ioyed, that there is hope of yo^r Ma^{ties} returne sooner then is generally reported here, where it is confidently said (amongst y^e most authentique intelligencers in Scottish affaires), that yo^r Ma^{tie} will not be here till Christmas, & I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} they give forth, as if yo^r Ma^{tie} were likely to receaue but an ill harvest of all y^e paynes yo^r Ma^{tie} hath taken: But I hope y^e happy conclusion of yo^r businesses there, shall now very shortly, by good effects, contradict and falsify their stories.

I humbly conceaue that it may be for yo^r Ma^{ties} honour & advantage, that y^e Lo: Mayor of London wayte on yo^r Ma^{tie} att yo^r returne, that you may have thereby opportunity to shew yo^rself gra'cous to yo^r people, by speaking a short word now & then to them as you passe amongst them, to cheere & encourage them in their dutifull affecc'ons to yo^r Royall person ; & therefore I beseech yo^r Ma^{tie}, that by yo^r next I may receave yo^r pleasure, whither I shall intimat to y^e Lo. Mayor, that yo^r Ma^{tie} will ex-

¹ The historians of the day are silent with respect to any circumstances connected with the City, except those already alluded to.

² Of Lockhamsted, Bucks, Baronet ; but now extinct.

pect that he & his brethren attend yo^r Ma^{tie} accordingly : And I humbly desire to know to whome I shall addresse let^{rs} for yo^r Ma^{tie}, when you shalbe on yo^r iourney hither, for that I beleeve Mr. Thre^r will not ride soe fast as yo^r Ma^{tie}. The occasion of this dispatch is y^e inclosed from my Lo: Keeper.

I doe lyke well, that you should doe so. To the Duke of Riche : (Richmond.)

The Queene sent me word even now that she shall not write by this packet. We hope yo^r Ma^{ties} next l^{rs} will satisfy yo^r good servaunts expectac'on here wth the desired newes of yo^r Ma^{ties} happy & speedy returne, w^{ch} is y^e earnest prayer of

Yo^r Sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Thorpe : Munday 11^o 8^{br's} 1641.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden : 18

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

Yesterday I sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} in myne a let^r from my Lo^d Keeper by packet : and this is to give yo^r Ma^{tie} advertisem^t, that y^e Lo^{dds} of yo^r Ma^{ties} Privy Councill met here this morning, to consider of some Irishe businesses, when they agreed upon a let^r to be forthwth sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} wth their Lo^{ps} advise, for divers reasons expressed in their said let^r (a copy whereof for better expedic'on is here inclosed), to giue order to yo^r Ma^{ties} Justices in Irland to prorogue y^e parliam^t there (w^{ch} is to meete y^e 9th of No^{ber}) till ffebruary next : the originall under y^e Lo^{ds} hands shalbe sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} as soone as it can be got signed, if yo^r Ma^{tie} shall approve of their Lo^{ps} advise, you may be pleased for better expedic'on to send one let^r under yo^r Ma^{ties} hand immediatly from Edenburg into Irland by an expresse messenger to y^e Lo^{dds} Justices, forthwth to set forth a proclamac'on to that purpose : & another by the way of West Chester or thereabouts, least y^e former should miscarry or receive delay. The Lo^{dds} of yo^r Ma^{ties} Privy Councill here have also this day giuen order to the Justices of Peace (in & neere London) to take a course, that a more effectuall and strict order be taken for present sending away all y^e disbanded souldiers (w^{ch} still pester this city) ; & for shutting up of all houses infected, for that y^e sicknes disperseth very much & dangerously hereabouts.

I have done this alreddie.

There was this day nothing donne by the Comittees of either House worthy yo^r Ma^{ties} notice. There is a strong report (spred by persons of best creddit here for intelligence & knowledge of y^e proceedings in Scotl :) that yo^r Ma^{tie} will not be here these 2 moneths, but what ground they have for it, I cannot learne.

I would not have that intention hindered, Cambridge would be best.

For this, I would haue you consult with the Keeper & others of my seruants what to doe in it, leaving it to your discretions to doe as you shall see cause, but I would have the adjurnement furthered by anie means.

As I haue bene sufficientlie slandered heere, in some respects, so there also I heere that I haue not mist those good offices, though in an other kynde, as being resolved, at my retorne, to alter the forme of the Churche gouernement in England to this heere : therefor I com'and you to assure all my seruants there that I am constant for the Doctrine & Discipline of

There is a whispering here, as if yo^r Parliam^t (when it meetes) would adiourne for some moneths, or to some other place : I tould my Lo : Keeper this day that if y^e P^{liam}^t should adiourne to a further day, (thoughe but for a moneth or two) before they passed y^e Bill of Tonnage & Poundage to yo^r Ma^{ties}, (the same being graunted only to y^e first of Decem : next,) it would put yo^r Ma^{ties} to a great streight for want of monny to uphold yo^r house, & for divers other occasions : and I humbly offer it to yo^r Ma^{ties} considerac'on, whether it may not be fitt for you to let my Lo : Keeper, & some other of yo^r Ma^{ties} best affected seruaunts of either House of P^{liam}^t know, what you would have them to insist upon in case there should be any moc'on for a further adiournem^t, before yo^r Ma^{ties} retorne, by reason of y^e sicknes, w^{ch} growes soe rife & dangerous, as will make such a moc'on willingly hearkened unto. My humble & earnest prayers shalbe still for a prosperous dispatch of yo^r affaires there, & for yo^r Ma^{ties} speedy & safe retorne, there being noe man so much obliged to yo^r Ma^{ties} for yo^r grac'ous favour, as

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient seruaunt,

Westminster, 12^o 8^{bris} 1641.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden : 18 :

Superscribed "for yo^r Sacred Ma^{ties}."

Written by the King ; "Yours apostyled."

Written on the back by Sir E. N. : "Sent by Mr. Mungo Murrey, and rec^d back by ^{ye} post boy of Barbican the 23th at West^r at 9 at nyg^{ht}. His Ma^{ties} is constant in y^e doctrine & discipline of y^e Church."

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{ties},

I receaved yesterday yo^r Ma^{ties} apostile of y^e 9th p^{esent} by Mr. Barkley, & have (according to yo^r Ma^{ties} com'and) addressed this

packet to y^e Duke of Richmond, & shall soe contynue my addresses, untill I shall understand of Mr. Th'rrers returne to Court. Yo^r Ma^{tie} com'aunds me to advise wth some of yo^r best servaunts here, how to p^event the intenc'ons of some here to presse yo^r Ma^{tie} at y^e next meeting in P^{liam}^t for y^e like Act touching y^e elecc'on of officers & councillors here, as you have graunted in Scotland. I (wth all humility) assure yo^r Ma^{tie}, that I conceive it no lesse difficult for me (now in yo^r absence when y^e awe of the Parliam^t is upon all in generall) to discern who are yo^r Ma^{ties} best servaunts here, then it is almost impossible for such yo^r servaunts, to know what to doe or advise, to p^event soe plausible a designe, w^{ch} in my poor opinion nothing can soe well divert, as yo^r Ma^{ties} speedy returne: but of this intend forthwth to speake wth the Queene.

This inclosed is y^e let^r from y^e Lo^{ds} of yo^r Ma^{ties} Privy Counsell, whereof in my last by Mr. Mungo Murrey¹ I sent a copy: their Lo^{pps}, as soon as they rose from Councell, (& before y^e let^r was drawne) dispersed themselves to their severall homes in y^e country, w^{ch} is y^e cause (as I am tould), that it was this day before it was brought signed to me for yo^r Ma^{tie}. The more secrecy and expedic'on there is used in dispatch of yo^r Ma^{ties} let^r to y^e Lo^{ds} Justices (if you shall approve of their Lo^{pps} advise) y^e better, & that made me p^esume to hasten to yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e copy, before y^e let^r itself was signed. I finde that y^e Com'ttees of both Houses (by reason of y^e contynuaunce of y^e sicknes) incline to be very earnest, when y^e Parliam^t meets next, to perswade a further adiournem^t for a tyme, but Mr. Pym, & those of his party, will not heare that y^e P^{liam}^t shalbe held any where but in London or Westminster: I hope yo^r

the Church of England as it was established by Queene Elis. & my Father, & resolves, (by the grace of God) to liue & dey in the maintenance of it.

If your owen observation doe not sufficiently tell you, lett my Wyfes direction guyde you.

It will be well done.

I haue given sufficient order in all this alreddy.

¹ Murrey (Mungo) was a confidential servant and gentleman of the bed-chamber to the King, who often entrusted him with private correspondence, an anecdote respecting which deserves notice. In February 1646, whilst the King was in the power of the English Commissioners at Newcastle, Murrey, having obtained leave of absence on pretence of visiting Scotland, was admitted to his Majesty's presence before witnesses for the purpose of kissing his hand. The Commissioners, however, were so suspicious and watchful, that they observed something put into his hand by the King; and having followed him, when out of the presence, they searched him, and found a letter in cypher directed to Montreuil the French agent. The letter was immediately sent up to the Parliament, and Murrey committed to prison, but admitted to bail after two days confinement.

I haue syned
it, & therefor
see that it be
imediattlie sent
ouer, for tell
my Wyfe that
I shall loose
no tyme in
sending to Sr
Will: Boswell¹
as she desyres.

I haue told
you in my for-
mer Dis-
patches.
I shall doe
this.

Ma^{tie} (if you shall stay there past y^e 18th present) will send some direcc^ons to yo^r seruaunts here how to apply their endeavours in P^{liam}^t, in case there shalbe any debate touching an adiournem^t.

I have herewth by y^e Queenes com'aund sent yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e draught of a warrant for yo^r Ma^{ties} hand for y^e delivery of yo^r Ma^{ties} Collar of Rubies to Sr W^m Boswell for yo^r Ma^{ties} use: I tould Sr Job Harby, that Sr W^m was to kepe it till yo^r Ma^{tie} should send for it. The Queene tould me yesterday, that she would write to yo^r Ma^{tie} to be pleased wth yo^r owne hand to give Sr W^m Boswell order what to doe wth y^e said Collar, for it is apparent, that these merchaunts dare not have a hand in the engaging of it, but they say they will take order that, upon receipt of yo^r Ma^{ties} warraunt, it shalbe safely delivered accordingly.

If yo^r Ma^{tie} shall stay long from hence², I humbly pray yo^r Ma^{tie} wilbe pleased to let me understand w^h whome you would have me to advise concerning yo^r affaires here, & that yo^r Ma^{tie} would vouchsafe to let them know, how farre yo^r Ma^{tie} would have them to confide in me in any yo^r Ma^{ties} services, that I may have y^e more credit wth them, when I shall have occasion to attend them, & be y^e better able to annswere yo^r Ma^{ties} expectac^on. I haue not bene att Oatlands since Mr. Berkley came, but am this morning going to wayte on y^e Queene, to know if her Ma^{tie} hath any com'aunds for

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & obedient seruaunt,

Thorpe; 15 8^{bris}, 1641.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden: 20:

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}." By the King: "Yours apostyled."

15^o 8^{bris} 1641. Apost: 20. R. 25^o at 9. at night.

¹ Boswell seems to have been an old confidential servant of the King, who mentions him as his agent in 1634, in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia. Vide Bromley's Letters, p. 67. He was also in the confidence of the Palatine Princes about the same time. Vide Bromley, p. 79. He was at this period, the British Resident at the Hague, but afterwards fell into disgrace, as appears by a subsequent letter of the Queen of Bohemia.

² On this day the King wrote a letter to the Lord Keeper, desiring him to inform the Parliament that he was unavoidably detained, but that he would make all diligence to return. This was read to the Lords on the 26th. Vide Parliamentary Debates.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

Yo^r Ma^{ties} sent by Sr W^m Ballatine¹ were delivered here y^e 18th of this moneth by 4 in y^e afternoone.

Upon let^{rs} from y^e Englishe Com[']itees now in Scotl: to y^e Com[']ittee here, relating y^e newes of Mar: Hamiltons, the Ea: of Arguiles, and Ea: of Lannericks abandoning y^e Court & Parliam^t there,² our Com[']ittee here was yesterday in a great fright, & (declaring that they conceived the same to be a plot of y^e Papists there, & of some Lo^{dds} & others here,) sent p^esent order to y^e Lo; Mayor &c. to dubble y^e gardes & watches of this Citty & Suborbs, & it is thought that this busines will this day in Parliament be declared to be a greater plot against the Kingdomes and Parliam^{ts} in Eng: & Scotl: then hath bene discovered at all. There have bene some well-affected parliam^t-men here wth me this morning to know whether I had any relac[']on of that busines, but finding I had none, but only a few words from Mr. Sec[']rie Vane, w^{ch} I shewed to them, they seemed much troubled, as not knowing what to say to it: I hasten this of purpose to give yo^r Ma^{tie} notice hereof, & to pray yo^r Ma^{tie}, that there may be sent hither wth all

I was the lesse carfull to send a perfect relation of this business, because I sent one of whose discretion & knowledg I was & am so confident, that I thought his discourse of the business as hauing beene an ey witness would haue satisfied more then anie written relation, therefore I desyre you to call on him in my name to satisfie well affected persones, of the treuth of that w^{ch} passed while he was heere; &, for what hath passed since, I haue directed the D: of Rich: to giue you such an account as there is.

¹ Afterwards Lord Ballenden, the first Peer of that name. In 1640 he appears, by Bromley's Royal Letters, pp. 115, 116, to have been attached as Minister at the Palatine Court. He was much in the confidence of all the branches of the Royal Family; and obtained the peerage from Charles the Second for his very useful and active services during the Usurpation.

² This is the affair which, in the history of that time, went by the name of "The Incident." Lord Lanerick's relation of it may be seen in Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. ii., p. 299, wherein he asserts that there was a plan laid, by the opposite party, to cut the throats of himself and the two Lords mentioned in this letter; and he adds, that their "abandoning the Court and Parliament" was literally nothing more than quitting Edinburgh in order to save their lives.

There is an hiatus in the Hardwicke Papers from 1641 to 1685. His Lordship, in a note on Lord Lanerick's relation, laments that very little is known respecting a dark affair "which nobody understood at the time," particularly as the Hamilton Collection seems very defective at that period. These present Letters, however, may avail the future historian in clearing up difficulties and in prosecuting research.

The affair is particularly noticed in Pym's Report of the Committees, on the re-opening of Parliament, which may be referred to in vol. x. of the Parliamentary History, page 5.

It is now under examination, w^{ch} as soone as it (is) ended you shall be sure to haue.

possible dilligence a full & p^fect relac^on of y^e present disturbance there, & the cause & grounds thereof, & what upon exaⁱac^on it appeares to that parliam^t to be: all w^{ch}, I humbly wishe may be certefyed hither in as authentique a way,¹ & from as vnsuspected a hand as may be.

If Mr. Secrⁱe Vane had written to me, or any of his friends here, a true narrac^on of that busines, it would have given much satisfac^on here, and stopped the causles alarmes that are taken vpon y^e noyse of it, that busines being now by y^e relac^on of diverse Scots-men here made much worse, then I beleeeve it will prooue in y^e end.

The Queene tould me yesterday that she will wryte to yo^r Ma^{ties} this night or too morrow, but I thought it not fitt to deferre this packet now for her Ma^{ties} let^r, which shalbe hastened away as soone as I shall receave it. The inclosed from S^r Art: Hopton,² I receaved from my Lo: Cottington wth direcc^on to send it to yo^r Ma^{ties}.

Yo^r Ma^{ties} will I hope pardon this hasty expression of the humble diligence of

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

As I was closing this, I receaved for yo^r Ma^{ties} this le^{tr} from my Lo: Marshall.

Written by the King :

“Those of yours, w^{ch} I returne not to you apostyled, I alwais burne.”

Westminster, 20: 8^{bris} 1641.

Eden. 24.

“For yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}.”

“Yours apostyled.”

20. 8^{bris} 1641. Apost. 24^o 8^{bris}.

R. 30 at 7 at night at Thorpe. Rec. of Capt. Smith.

¹ The Parliament met this day; the first time after the recess.

² He was uncle to Sir Ralph Hopton, the famous Royalist General; and, when the latter was created Lord Hopton, Sir Arthur was named heir in remainder, in default of issue male; but dying before his nephew, he never enjoyed those honours. He was of a Somersetshire family, the Hoptons of Wytham.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I hope my le^r, w^{ch} I hastily wrote to yo^r Ma^{tie} yesterday by packet, wilbe come to yo^r Royall hands before this, & that wee shall speedily receave a relac'on of this busines concerning the Marquis & y^e rest, w^{ch} all y^r servaunts here call for very earnestly.

Yo^r Ma^{ties} le^r to my Lo: Keeper was carefully delivered to his owne hands yesterday before y^e sitting of y^e Parliam^t, but his Lo^{pp} tells me, that y^e effect of it was knowne here some dayes before he receaved it: w^{ch} is an infinite p^ejudice to yo^r Ma^{ties} affaires here; such anticipation of yo^r Ma^{ties} direcc'ons in businesses of importance renders y^e same impossible, or extreame difficult, to be effected: And I observe that y^e perfect intelligence, that is here of all yo^r Ma^{ties} resoluc'ons & proceedings there, puts lief and spirit into some here, who wthout that encouragem^t & light, would (I believe) pay more reverence to yo^r Ma^{ties} counsell and acc'ons.

When yo^r Ma^{tie} hath made stay y^e disbanding of 5 companies remayning in Barwick,¹ it is here thought fit not to make any order to y^e contrary, but it is declared (as I heare) that from y^e 15th of this moneth (w^{ch} was y^e tyme appoynted by y^e Houses for disbanding all that garrison) those companies shall have no further pay from y^e Comonwealth as it is called, and concerning this, there is to be speedily a conference wth y^e Lo^{dds}, wth y^e issue whereof I shall acquaint yo^r Ma^{tie} by my next.

Sir Jo. Berkley was yesterday com'itted to y^e Tower, & Capt. O'Neale to y^e Gatehouse by y^e House of Co'mons vpon y^e old business.² Yo^r Ma^{tie} will herewth receave a copy of y^e le^r sent hither by y^e Com'ittees in Scotland, and of y^e order made there-upon y^e day before y^e P^{liam}^t by y^e Com'ittees here. I have p^esented yo^r Ma^{ties} le^r to y^e B^{pp} of London, who hath promised to use all possible expedic'on in p^rformaunce of y^r Ma^{ties} comaunds therein.

¹ The jealousy of the Parliament about Berwick was so very great, that when the Scottish Army upon their return in August, wished to march through that garrison, a wooden bridge was actually ordered to be built over the Tweed, at some distance from the town.

² It was also ordered, the Lords should be desired to examine those gentlemen respecting the charges brought against them.

Of this I much wonder, for on my credit I acquainted no-bodie with the contents thereof, & am verie confident that none heere knew whether I writt to him or not: therefore I thinke it fitt that you should try as much as may be how this is come, & whether it be an intelligence or conjectur.

Before this, that is satisfied.

I remember that I had some discourse wth the Eng: Par: men about Prorogation, but I'm confident that it was efter my Lett: was written, if it were serious, all others wer in consequence of the Plague at randome.

For diversion
of this & other
mischiefes, I
would ye
should put
Bristo in
mynde to re-
new that dis-
pute betwixt
the two
Houses, con-
cerning the
Parlament
Protestation
w^{ch} South-
ampton was so
feare upon.

In this, I hope,
this dispatche
will satisfie
your longins,
but I belive,
not some of
your expecta-
tions.

The Lo^{dds} Commissioners have given order for p^eparing a Proclamac^on for p^esented dispersing & sending away of y^e disbanded souldiers,¹ as yo^r Ma^{tie} directed by yo^r apostile of the 13th of this moneth. My Lo: Keeper delivered me this morning to be sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} this paper, w^{ch} was p^esented to his Lo^p in y^e nature of a protestac^on by y^e persons the reinvndernamed : his Lo^{pp} tells me he hath formerly acquainted yo^r Ma^{tie} wth that busines. My Lo : of Bristoll² tould me this day, that he heares from severall hands, that there is an intenc^on to question his Lo^p, & his sonne y^e Lo : Digby, but he knowes not for what, & he tells me that nothing shall deterre him from p^rformaunce of his duty. This day there was twice read in y^e Co^mons House a Bill for taking away the Votes of B^{pps} in y^e Vpper House, and that Bill is comitted, and it is said it will passe both Houses wthin two dayes. The disobedience against y^e order of y^e House of Co^mons concerning innovac^ons, was this day questioned in that House, & after a long debate, there was no way found or resolved on, to punishe those that disobeyed y^e same, for that that order was conceived by most in y^t House not to be iustifyable by lawe, & therefore not binding.³

I have herewth sent yo^r Ma^{tie} some notes of y^e effect of y^e conference this day betweene y^e 2 Houses. I beseech God amongst those great distracc^ons to p^eserve y^r Ma^{tie} in safety : & I beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to give me leave once more to put you in minde to hasten hither a true relac^on of y^e vnhappy interrupc^on of yo^r affaires there, for I find, that yo^r servaunts here are much disheartened that they are kept soe long in darknes in a busines soe highly importing yo^r hon^r, & yo^r Ma^{ties} owne person. I expected a let^r from y^e Queene for yo^r Ma^{tie} this day, but I beleeeve her Ma^{tie} pu^rposes

¹ May, in his History of the Parliament, says that both the armies, English and Scotch, "quietly departed, conducted to their owne homes by order from Justices of Peace through the several counties."

² The Earl of Bristol had mingled much in party politics previous to this date. He had been Ambassador to Spain in proposing Charles's marriage with the Infanta ; and afterwards impeached in Parliament respecting the treaty and its failure ; but he had such influence with the House of Commons as to bring about a counter impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham. This may account for his hostility to Charles's friend, Lord Strafford, though the prospect of rebellion now induced him to support the Royal Cause. Vide Bulstrode, page 14.

³ None of these circumstances are stated in the Parliamentary History ; yet they are important with respect to the annals of those times.

to sent her let^{rs} by an expresse ; for that there are none come from her Ma^{tie} as yet to be conveyed by

Y^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble and most

obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 21^o 8^{bris} 1641.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden: 28:

“ For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}.

“ Yours apostyled.”

Apost: 28 8^{bris}.—R. 1^o No^{bris}, at 5 at night, by Mr. Wm. Murray.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I receaved Saterdag night last yo^r Ma^{ties} of y^e 18th p^{esent}, & have safely delivered yo^r Ma^{ties} to y^e Queene & my Lo : Keeper : the messenger that was sent wth yo^r Ma^{ties} said l^{ter}, (bruysing himself wth a fall from his horse soe as he was not able to ride) sent yo^r Ma^{ties} to me single by y^e ordinary post, w^{ch} made me suspect that it had bene intercepted, but it came very safe. I have alreddy made known to diverse Lo^{dds} & others yo^r Ma^{ties} pious resoluc^{on} to mainteyne constantly y^e doctrine & discipline of y^e Church of England, & have by their advise delivered extracts (of what yo^r Ma^{tie} hath written) to diverse of yo^r Ma^{ties} servaunts, that yo^r piety therein may be vnderstood by yo^r good people here.

The Queene sent S^r W^m Ballatine from hence on Friday last, & he going im^{ediatly} from Oatlands w^{thout} calling here, I lost y^e opportunity of sending by him, but I p^{epared} my l^{ter} of y^e 23th reddey for him, w^{ch} I have now sent by this gent. Mr. Tho. Elliot.

Wee here begin to app^{ehend} that in y^e great troubles there, some of yo^r Ma^{ties} packets may miscarry, & therefore I held it my duty to let yo^r Ma^{tie} vnderstand, that since myne of y^e 12th (w^{ch} yo^r Ma^{tie} hath return^d) I have sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} let^{rs} of y^e 15th & 18th, both w^{ch} were addressed in packets to y^e D. of Richmond, & afterwards 2 other packets of y^e 20th & 21th directed to Mr. Th^rrer.

I haue re-
ceaved them
all

& thease also.

As concerning y^e adiournem^t of y^e P^{liam}^t here, my Lo : Keeper tells me, that he hath, by his l^{ter} sent in myne of y^e 21th fully acquainted yo^r Ma^{tie} how y^e expectac^{on} was here frustrated. The

It is trew.

Bid my servants make as much vse of this objection as may bee.

Vpper House did Satterday last reade y^e Bill transmitted to them by y^e Comons, for taking away y^e votes of B^{ps}, & intend (as I heare) to speede it as fast as may be, notwthstanding it is said to be against y^e auntient order of P^{liam}^t to bring in a Bill againe the same Sessions, that it was reiecte^d.¹ Yo^r Ma^{ties} best servaunts here remayne still in greate payne, that in all this tyme they have not receaved any p^efect relac^on of y^e late disorders at Edinb: concerning Mar: Hamilton & y^e rest, & they are the more impatient, in regarde they heare that some of y^e Com^ons house have coppyes of y^e examinac^ons taken in that busines, & other aduertisem^{ts} touching y^e same. I beseech God to send yo^r Ma^{tie} forth of that laberinth of troubles there, & a safe & ho^{ble} returne for Engl: w^{ch} willbe most welcome to all honnest men here, and to none more then to

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 25^o 8^{bris} 1641.

Eden. 30.

Written by the King:

“I hope this ill newes of Ireland² may hinder some of theas follies in England.”

“For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}.”

“Yours apostyled.”

25^o 8^{bris} 1641. Apost. 30 8^{bris}.

Rec. 4^o No^{bris} in y^e morning.

¹ The Lords, however, did not proceed so ar, until, on the 22d of October, the House of Commons sent up Mr. Holles “to put them in mind of their complaint exhibited against the thirteen Bishops who made the last new Canons, and to pray a speedy proceeding therein.”

² This is a verification of the old proverb, that “Ill news travels fast”; for the Irish Rebellion broke out on the 25th of October, and the King’s memorandum, or apostyle, is dated the 30th. The return of the letter to Sir Edward, on the 4th of November, is a further proof of the rapidity of travelling at that period between Edinburgh and London.

The King’s opinion respecting the interference of Parliament in Irish affairs, may be drawn from an anecdote preserved in an old tract in the British Museum; when in conversation with the Earl of Pembroke, in March 1641, His Majesty said, “The businesse of Ireland will never be done in the way that you are in; four hundred will never do that work; it must be put in the hands of one. If I were trusted with it, I would pawn my head to end that work. And though I am a beggar myself, yet (speaking with a strong asseveration) I can find moneye for that.”

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e 25th of this p^esent 2. let^{rs} by Mr. Elliot,¹ & y^e same night I receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} apostile of y^e 20th, and p^esently sent away yo^r Ma^{ties} to y^e Queene, & delivered that to my Lo : Keeper. I shall forthwth deliver yo^r Ma^{ties} warr^t to S^r Job Harby, & hasten y^e dispatch of that busines.

I have herein sent yo^r Ma^{tie} a copy of an order made by the Peers concerning y^e jurisdic^{on} of y^e Archb^p. of Cant. In this packet there is sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} by my Lo^d. of London severall Bills for yo^r Ma^{ties} signature for y^e new B^{ps}, wth a l^{tr} from his Lo^p touching that busines.

Hen. Vane
will returne all
those syned by
mee wth this
Packe to my
L: of Lon:

There is still kept here a strict garde & watch about y^e Parliam^t houses of 100. of y^e trayned bands, besides diverse other watchmen : y^e p^etence is an app^ehension of some conspiracy of y^e Papists against y^e P^{liam}^t here, answerable to that against some Lo^{ds} in Scotl: & y^e alarme of popishe plots amuse and fright y^e people here, more then any thing, & therefore that is y^e drum that is soe frequently beaten uppon all occasions ; & y^e noyse of an intenc^{on} to introduce Popery was that w^{ch} first brought into dislike wth the people y^e government both of y^e Church and Comonwealth. I have not bene sparing to make knowne yo^r Ma^{ties} pious resoluc^{on} to mainteyne y^e doctrine & disciplyne of the Church of Engl: w^{ch} I perceave gives very good satisfac^{on}.

My Lo: Keeper having occasion to wayte on y^e Queene this day, did yesterday move y^e House for leave, & tould their Lo^{ps} that my Lo: Bankes had a co^mmisson dormant to be Speaker in his absence, but y^e Lo^{ds} said they would chuse their owne Speaker, & soe named y^e Lo. P. Seale,² whereupon my Lo. Keeper said he would (to avoide all question) rather stay, but y^e Lo^{ds} pressed him not to forbear his journey, least y^e Queene might take it ill, & soe

I comand you
to speake with
the Keeper &
my L: Bankes
to see if it can
bee warranted
by anie reule
or president
that the Vpper
House may

¹ This is the same person to whom, in 1642, the Lord Keeper Lyttelton delivered the Great Seal, when the King sent him for it. Lyttelton, terrified at what he had done, fled immediately afterwards to join the King at York. May states him to have been "a young gentleman, and Groom of the Privy Chamber to his Majesty.

² Henry Earl of Manchester.

chuse there
Speaker.

his Lo^p goes this day to Oatlands, & y^e Lo. P. Seale is to be Speaker in his absence.

Judge Berkley¹ was yesterday att y^e bar in y^e Vpper House, & there heard his charge read, to w^{ch} he pleaded not guilty, & made a prudent answeare; whereupon tyme is given him till Tuesday next to produce witnesses concerning soe much of his charge as relates to misdemeanors. The House of Com'ons did yesterday by vote declare, that y^e 13 Bishops,² (who are questioned for making y^e new cannons,) ought not to haue vote in y^e Lo^{ds} House in any busines: & they are this day to have a conference wth y^e Lo^{ds} thereupon, & also touching y^e excluding of all y^e B^{ps} from voting in y^e Bill (w^{ch} is passed y^e Com'ons House) to take away totally ye B^{ps} votes.³ All yo^r Ma^{ties} best servaunts here pray for yo^r Ma^{ties} speedy & happy dispatch of affaires there, conceaving yo^r p^esence would be of very much advantage to yo^r services here, & this is also y^e earnest prayer of

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 27^o 8^{bris}, 1641.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden: 2: No:

By the King:

"I co'mande you to direct my L: Keeper in my name to issew out a Proclamac'on co'manding all Parliament Men to attend on the Parliament.

"Thanke Southampton in my name, for stopping the Bill against the Bishops: &, that at my co'ming, I will doe it myselve."

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}."

"Yours apostyled."

27 8^{bris} Apost. 2^o. 9^{bris}.—R. 6^o 9^{bris} 1641 at 6. at night. by Mr. Bruncker.

¹ He was Justice of the King's Bench; was committed to the Tower by the Lords on a charge of high treason, and afterwards fined in the sum of £20,000, besides being declared incapable of all further administration of justice.

² These were Walter Carle, Bishop of Winchester; Robert Wright, B. Coventry and Lichfield; Godfrey Goodman, B. Gloucester; Joseph Hall, B. Exeter; John Owen, B. St. Asaph; William Piers, B. Bath and Wells; George Cook, B. Hereford; Matthew Wren, B. Ely; William Roberts, B. Bangor; Robert Skinner, B. Bristol; John Warner, B. Rochester; John Towers, B. Peterborough; Morgan Owen, B. Landaff.

³ The Bill went further than Sir Edward reports, for it included "Bishops and other persons in holy orders." It was to shut them not only out of Parliament, but also from the Privy Council, the Commission of the Peace, "or execute any temporal authority, by virtue of any commission."

Even the vulgar wit of the day was brought forward in contempt of the

You shall doe
well to put the
B. of Lincolne
in mynde con-
cerning the
pardon I
though fitt
those 13 Bps.
should haue
for a premu-
nire, that you
may giue order
to the Atur:
for it in my
name if he
shall thinke it
fitt.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

My last to yo^r Ma^{tie} was of y^e 27th p^esent, w^{ch} I sent by packet addressed to Mr. Th^rer. Yo^r Ma^{ties} long absence encourages some to talke in Parliam^t of highe matters. It was yesterday in debate in y^e Com^{ons} House, that y^e Parliam^t may have the approbac^{on} of all officers, councellors, amb^{dors}, and ministers, and yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e nominac^{on}.¹ The reasons alleaged for it were, first that it had bene soe heretofore, & soe is conceaved to be an auntient right: 2^{ly} that y^e ill effects that hath bene by y^e counsell & acc^{ons} of olde officers, councellors, &c. & y^e feares that there may be y^e like by the new; will make all that hath bene hitherto donne nothing, if this may not be graunted to secure them, whereby the kingdome may be as well p^eserved as purged. 3^{dy} that yo^r Ma^{tie} did heare partic^{lar} & privat mens advise in y^e choyce of yo^r off^{rs}, councellors, &c. & therefore it can be noe derogac^{on} for yo^r Ma^{tie} to take therein y^e advise of y^e P^{liam}ent. Some said that untill such things as these shalbe granted they cannot wth a good consyence supply yo^r Ma^{ties} necessities: after a long debate this busines was at length referred to a Select Com^{itte}e to p^epare forthwth heads for a pet^{on} to be p^esented to yo^r Ma^{tie} to receive the P^{liam}ts approbac^{on} of such officers, councellors, &c. as yo^r Ma^{tie} shall choose, for better p^evenc^{on} of y^e great & many mischeifs that may befall y^e Comonwealth by y^e choyce of ill counsellors, officers, amb^{dors} & ministers of state, w^{ch} pet^{on} is to be

Church; and a pamphlet was industriously disseminated, under the title of, "Lord Bishops none of the Lord's Bishops."

¹ A most extraordinary speech was made on this occasion by "Master Smith, of the Inner Temple," which he has done posterity the favour to publish. In one part he observes: "Prerogative and Liberty are both necessary to this kingdom; and, like the sun and moon, give a lustre to this benighted nation, so long as they walk at equal distances; but when one of them shall venture into the other's orb, like those planets in conjunction, they then cause a deeper eclipse." He then concludes a string of uncouth metaphors by assuring the House that it was necessary "so to provide that the Mæcenass of the times may not, like great jacks in a pool, devour their inferiors, and make poverty a pavement for themselves to trample on."

I co'mande
you to doe it
in my name,
telling them
that I will doe
it myselfe at
my returne.

On the con-
traire I com-
mand you to
take order
that these
Billes bee ex-
pedited that
they may with
all possible
diligence at-
tend the Par-
lement.

ripened wth all speede & to be p^esented to y^e House : there appeared soe many in y^e Com'ons House against this busines, that some conceive that there wilbe noe further proceeding in it, but I doubt it : howsoever I may not forbear to let yo^r Ma^{tie} know, that the Lo: ffalkland, Sr Jo. Strangwishe,¹ Mr. Waller, Mr. Ed. Hide, & Mr. Holborne, & diverse others stood as Champions in maynten'ce of yo^r Prerogative, and shewed for it unaunswerable reason & undenyable p^esedents, whereof yo^r Ma^{tie} shall doe well to take some notice (as yo^r Ma^{tie} shall thinke best) for their encouragm^t.

The Com'ons House having gotten notice of y^e new B^{pps}² that are now making, some did mervale that any man should move yo^r Ma^{tie} for making of B^{ps} in these tymes, when it is well knowne how great complaints are against them in generall, & some would have had a pet^{on} or message to be sent to pray yo^r Ma^{tie} to be pleased to stay y^e constituting of any more B^{ps} till ye busines concerning Episcopacy shalbe determyned : but this moc'on was not resented in y^e House, & soe y^e discourse thereof fell.³

There was yesterday a great debate in y^e Upper House about y^e Bill for taking away y^e B^{ps} votes, & it was very doubtfull, after a long dispute, w^{ch} side was likeliest to carry itt, but att length both sides agreed to put off y^e further debate thereof till y^e 10th of Nov^r next, before w^{ch} tyme it wilbe tryed, of what vallidity y^e impeachm^t against y^e 13 B^{ps} will proove to be.

The considerac'on of these partic'lar passages may be sufficient

¹ Sir John Strangeways, knt. of Melbury Sampford, Dorsetshire.

² The superstitious feeling respecting political events at that period is curiously exemplified by a contemporary Writer, speaking of the occurrences immediately after Charles's return :

“ It happened one day, as some of the ruder sort of citizens came by Whitehall, one busie citizen must needs cry, ‘ No Bishops ! ’ Some of the gentlemen issued out of Whitehall, either to correct the sauciness of the fool in words, if they would serve, else, it seemes, with blowes ; what passed on either side in words none but themselves knew ; the citizen, being more tongue than souldier, was wounded, and I have heard dyed of his wounds receaved at that tyme ; it hath been affirmed by very many, that in or near unto that place where this fellow was hurt and wounded, the late King's head was cut off, the Scaffold standing just over that place.”

³ The Parliamentary History asserts that the motion for a conference with the Lords, for the purpose of drawing up a petition on this subject, was carried, on a division, by 71 to 53.

to move yo^r Ma^{tie} to hasten yo^r returne, & I shall take y^e boldnes to ad to it one more, w^{ch} I observed at y^e Councell Borde, when Marq: Hertford¹ moved y^e Lo^{dds} (upon occasion of these words in Mr. Th^rers let^{tr} to me, viz. that he did hope y^e P^{liam}^t of Engl. would interpose & hasten yo^r Ma^{ties} returne) to consider whether it might not be fit to move y^e P^{liam}^t here to that purpose; most of y^e rest of y^e Lo^{dds} of y^e Councelle declyned it, in regarde y^e let^r was not written to y^e Boorde but to me, & that Mr. Th^rer left it to my choyce whether to acquaint them wth it or noe; whereby I observe that every one of yo^r Ma^{ties} Pr. Councelle is not fond of yo^r speedy returne hither. Yo^r Ma^{tie} can best make iudgm^t by there carriages how much it imports you to hasten hither.

I have delivered yo^r Ma^{ties} warraunt concerning yo^r Collar of Rubies, and am promised that this weeke order shalbe sent into y^e Low Countries for delivery of y^e same accordingly wth all dilligence possible. The Queene toulde me on Wensday last, that she would send an expresse to yo^r Ma^{tie} wthin a few dayes, w^{ch} I beleeve she hath donne by this tyme. This from my Lo. Keeper was delivered to me for yo^r Ma^{tie} this afternoone.

I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} I have bene warn'd by some of my best friends to be wary what I wryte to yo^r Ma^{tie}, for that there are many eyes upon me both here & in Scotl. & that l^{trs} that come to yo^r Royall hands doe after oft miscarry & come to others view: I shall. I receaued this on Wednesday last. When ye deliver this inclosed to my Wyfe, desyre her not to open it but when she is alone.

albeit this shall not deterre me from p^rformaunce of my duty in advertising yo^r Ma^{tie} of all things that shall occurre to my knowledge of certeynty, importing yo^r Ma^{ties} service, yet I humbly beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to vouchsafe to keepe to yo^rself what I take y^e freedome to imparte, least, in these tymes, that may be rendred to be treason in me, w^{ch} I humbly conceave to be y^e duty of,

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 29^o 8^{bris} 1641.

Eden. 6 Nov.

Apost. 6^o 9^{bris}.—Re^d 11^o 9^{bris} by Mr. Tho. Killegrew.²

¹ Hertford, at this period, was Governor to the Prince of Wales. This branch of the Seymours became extinct in 1675.

² This is a gentleman of facetious memory, who is generally known only as

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excell^t Matⁱe,

The 29th of y^e last moneth I sent yo^r Matⁱe a lt^r in a packet adressed to Mr. Th^rer, & on Satterday last about 7 at night I receaved by Capt. Smith¹ yo^r Matⁱes co'maunds apostiled 24^o 8^{bris}, & according to yo^r Matⁱes co'maunds I gave him yo^r Matⁱes lt^r to p^esent it to y^e Queene. The relac'ons w^{ch} are here made by any that come from thence, are (for y^e most p^{te}) varied & reported afterward by others according to y^e sence and affec'on of each several auditor^s, & soe become very uncertaine, & some are apt to credit & report y^e worst of businesses, & to silence what they like not, wherefore I humbly conceive, that a relac'on written by a good & unsuspected hand, would not only gayne best beliefe, but be lesse subiect to mistakes & misreports: & I hope when y^e examinac'ons of y^e late disturbances there shalbe published, y^e same will cleere all doubts, & giue honest men full satisfac'on. I have shewen y^e Queene & some Lo^{ds} the copy of Marq: Hamiltons 2. and 3d lt^{rs} to yo^r Matⁱe, whereby he begs yo^r Matⁱes pardon, w^{ch} argues he is not soe faultlesse, & innocent, as we would here render him. I humbly thanke yo^r Matⁱe that you have bene soe carefull of yo^r faithfull servaunt, as to burne all such of my l^{rs},

the Court buffoon of the succeeding reign, but who had other claims, not generally understood, upon the Royal notice.—At this period he was, or had been, page to Charles the First; and was afterwards an attendant upon Charles the Second during his exile. Some allusions are made to him in subsequent letters; particularly where the Queen of Bohemia solicits a commission for him. His family was also, in some degree, connected with the Royal family, by the marriage of Mary, daughter of Sir William Killebrew, with Frederic of Zulestein, an illegitimate son of Henry Prince of Orange.

¹ This Captain Smith displayed great courage, as well as loyalty, in the King's service. In the battle of Edgehill, on the 22nd of October, 1642, when Sir Edward Verney, the Royal Standard Bearer, was killed, and the standard taken, Smith rushed amidst the enemy and retook it, for which he was instantly made a knight banneret, and receive soon after a large gold medal, "with the King's picture on the one side, and the banner on the other, which he always wore to his dying day, in a large green watered ribband, cross his shoulders." He fell, two years afterwards, at Cheriton fight, sometimes called the battle of Alresford.

as you returne not to me apostiled, w^{ch} soe much concernes my safety, as I assure your Ma^{tie}, I have bene warned by some of my best friends both there and here, to be wary in my advertisem^{ts}, least being too good a servaunt (these are their very words) doe me hurt.

I have, inclosed, sent yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e copy of an order¹ of y^e Parliam^t concerning their abundant care of y^e Princes highnes safety and education, the reasons thereof were delivered at Oatlands by my Lo. of Holland² to y^e Queene, who (I heare) gave a very wise and discreete answeare to y^e same, as (I beleeve) her owne pen will very speedily acquaint yo^r Ma^{tie}.

It is said there is a new designe discovered of a later intenc'on

¹ A conference took place on this subject between the two Houses, wherein it was urged that the Prince had recently been often at the Queen's residence at Oatlands; and though the Commons did not doubt the motherly affection and care of her Majesty towards him, yet there were some dangerous persons at Oatlands, Jesuits and others, and therefore it was desired that the Marquis of Hertford should be enjoined to take the Prince into his custody and charge, attending upon him in person, and also that the Prince would make his ordinary abode and residence at his own house at Richmond. To this it was added, that Lord Hertford should place some person about the Prince to be answerable to both Houses; so that, in fact, the Prince would have been a complete prisoner! When the message was sent to the Queen she answered, that the Prince was celebrating his Sister's birthday.

² Henry Rich, first Earl of Holland (and second son of the Earl of Warwick), so created by James the First, in 1624. He is recorded in the "Loyal Martyrologie" by Winstanley, as a special favourite of Charles in the early part of his reign, being then Governor of Windsor Castle: yet, after that date, says Winstanley, "When the Long Parliament began to sit, and religion became the bone of contention, he sided with them; but afterwards perceiving that they made religion only a cloak to cover their rebellion, he deserted them, and took up armes for the Royal interest." Being defeated and taken prisoner, he suffered on the same scaffold with the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Capel, on the 9th of March, 1648. In the charge of his siding with the Parliament, Winstanley goes further than Dugdale, and those writers who copy from him; the latter asserting only that the favours heaped on Holland by Charles, made that Earl so fearful of the Parliament's enmity as to induce him not only to stand neutral himself, but also to persuade the Earl of Essex, his near kinsman, and Lord Chamberlain, to desert his Royal Master when forced to fly from Whitehall. De Larrey, a French historian, says of him that he possessed greater genius than his brother, Lord Warwick, who was "a person of an agreeable wit, perhaps a little too much libertine, but knew very well how to dissemble, and imposed on the people by an affected devotion, and going regularly to sermons."

Doe you it in
my name.

I have syned
it, but I will
not haue you
to make use of
it but as my
Wyfeshall
direc you.

then Mr. Percyes¹ to have debauched y^e late Army, but what it is I cannot learne. My Lo. Keeper sent to me this day to acquaint yo^r Ma^{tie}, that y^e p^esent new Lo. Mayor lately sworne (named Rich. Gurney), being not in y^e com[']ission of Lieutenn[']cy for London & liberties, it wilbe necessary that y^t comiss[']on be renewed & his Lo^p put into it, w^{ch} may soone be donne, if yo^r Ma^{tie} please to signify yo^r pleasure to my Lo. Keeper to that purpose. The B^p of Chichester humbly desires yo^r Ma^{ties} licence to be absent from P[']liam^t, for w^{ch} pu[']pose I have (at his Lo^{ps} request) herein sent a warr^t for yo^r Ma^{ties} signature, if you shall think fitt to signe it. It was ordered on Friday last by y^e Com[']ons that there should be heads p^epared for a conference concerning a pet^{on} to be sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} to stay y^e making of y^e new B^{pps}, but this hath not hitherto beene proceeded in any further, and some thinke it wilbe let fall.

There is newes come to my Lo. Lieutenn[']t of Ireland of a rebellion in y^e north of that kingdome, raysed (as it is said) by Papistes, whereof one Macguire² is one of y^e chiefest; I have not seene y^e le^ter concerning it, but y^e Lo^{ds} of yo^r Ma^{ties} Privy Councell sate yesterday (when I was at Oatlands) in close Councell about it, & this day they were wth y^e House of Com[']ons to advise concerning it as I heare: I believe yo^r Ma^{tie} hath before this received advertisem^t of y^e certeynty of this busines out of Ireland, & I doubt not but y^e Lo^{ds} of yo^r Privy Councell here, or my Lo. Lieutenant, will forthwth give yo^r Ma^{tie} an account, what they have advised upon herein: if their Lo^{pps} doe it not speedily, I shall write further of it, as soone as I may see y^e le^ter or know some certeynty of it, being unwilling to trouble yo^r Ma^{tie} in an affayre of that nature, but upon good grounds, & knowledge of p[']tic[']lars.

I hope this
next weeke
will put an end
to this Parla-
ment, so that
ye may expect
me by the 20:
of this month.

If yo^r Ma^{tie} could settle yo^r affaires well there, soe as yo^u might be here y^e next weeke, yo^r best servaunts here conceive it would then be in yo^r Ma^{ties} power, by yo^r presence, to bring this P[']liam^t

¹ This passage shews clearly that there were two distinct plots, or so called conspiracies; though some writers have asserted the contrary, respecting the accusations brought forward against Percy, Waller, O'Neale, &c.

² He was brother to the Lord Macguire, who was afterwards tried by order of the Parliament, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, notwithstanding he pleaded his Irish Peerage.

to a reasonable good conclusion, w^{ch} that it may be soe, is & shalbe ever y^e earnest prayer of,

Y^r sacred Mat^{ies}

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, Munday 1^o No^{bris} 1641.

Eden : Satterday : 6.

“For yo^r sacred Mat^{ie}.”

“Yours apostyled.”

Apost : 6 : 9^{bris}. —Rec^d 11^o 9^{bris}. by Mr. Tho : Killebrew.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excell^{nt} Mat^{ie},

Since my lt^r sent yesterday by Mr. Barclay, I have receaved by Mr. W^m Murray yo^r Ma^{ts} com'aunds by apostile of y^e 28th of Octob^r & have delivered yo^r Mat^{ies} to my Lo. Keeper, together wth a packet from Mr. Th^rer, conteyning y^e exaⁱac^ons of y^e busines touching Marq. Hamilton, &c. All w^{ch} were this morning read at y^e Councell Boorde, whereupon their Lo^{ps} resolved for y^e p^esent to make knowne in the generall, that they had receaved a faire dispatch concerning that busines, & that it was like to have a speedy, & quyet conclusion ; & their Lo^{ps}, being then to goe to y^e Parliam^t House about y^e Irishe busines, sealed upp y^e examina^ons, & appointed too morrow in the afternoone to consider further of y^e same, & to advise in what manner to acquaint y^e Parliam^t therewth. I heare that my Lo. Lieuten^{nt} of Ireland hath by a dispatch this morning sent yo^r Mat^{ie} an accompt of all y^e partic^lars touching y^e Rebellion in that kingdome,¹ w^{ch} y^e Parliam^t here takes to hart, & there is a Com^{it}tee of 12 Lo^{ds} together wth some of y^e House of Com^ons appointed this evening to goe into London to treate wth y^e Lo. Mayor, Aldermen & Com^on Councell to borrow 50 m^l. to be forthwth sent into Irland, to pay & encourage y^e old Army & alsoe such new souldiers as are there lately taken up to make head to y^e Rebels, for w^{ch} somes y^e Citty is to be secured by Act of Parliam^t, both for principall & interest.

¹ In vol. vi. of Somers' Tracts, page 378, is the Report of the Lord Keeper to the House of Commons on the 1st of November, 1641 ; drawn up from the dispatches of the Lords Justices to the Lord Deputy, who was then in England.

It is said that one Owen Conelles¹ (a servaunt of Sr Jo. Clotworthies) for making y^e first discovery of ye Rebellion, & for some services donne against it, shalbe rewarded by y^e P^{liam}^t wth y^e gift of 500^{li} presently, & be recommended to yo^r Ma^{tie} for a penc'on of 200^l. There is a Com[']tee of y^e Peers appointed to peruse all l^{trs} that are come out of Irland, to consider of y^e p^esent state of Irland, & to further examyne Owen Conelles touching that Rebellion upon interrogatories to be exhibited by y^e Comons, who are to be p^esent at y^e examinac'on,² & y^e same Committee is further to consider of y^e Recusants in Engl: that are of estate & quality & not convicted: the Lo. Lieut^t of Irland is desired by y^e Parliam^t (as I heare) to get together some Cap^{ts} and Off^{ers} here of Englishe to send over forthwth into Irland, & his Lo^p himself is pressed to hasten over wth all possible dilligence. This day father Phelipps (one of y^e Queenes priests) was com[']itted by y^e Lo^{ds} of Parliam^t for refusing to be sworne vpon y^e Bible, saying it was a false translac'on.³ There is to be too morrow a conference be-

¹ Conally's (Conelles) discovery arose from some accidental conversation, in a tavern, with Hugh Macmahon, grandson to the "Great Earl of Tyrone," on the night before the intended seizure of Dublin Castle by the conspirators, and which was to have been followed by a general attempt upon all the fortresses in Ireland. Burton says that both the gift and the annuity were voted to him by the Parliament, on the recommendation of the Lords Justices. He was also recommended to preferment. His master, Clotworthy, in 1640, was the seconder of Pym's first motion against the Earl of Strafford; he was also one of the great supporters of the self-denying Ordinance, yet he was loudly charged by the Army with defrauding the public purse of £40,000.

² It would be superfluous in this place to enter into all the charges against the King, as the instigator of the Irish Rebellion; but their general futility cannot be better evinced than in a charge brought forward by one of his bitterest enemies: "I know he obliterated with his own hands the word *Irish Rebels*, and put in *Irish subjects*, in a manuscript discourse, writ by Sir Edward Walker," &c. The same writer accuses him of being so "tender hearted of the Irish, as not to suffer above fourty proclamations to issue out against the rebels in Ireland."—Grebner's *Astrology*, p. 105.

May, in his *History of the Parliament*, p. 89, nearly repeats the same story, but says that the King ordered that no more than forty copies of the Proclamation should be issued.

³ On the preceding day several resolutions had passed the Commons respecting the Capuchin House in the Strand; and ordering that the Foreign Ambassadors should be sent to, to deliver up such priests as were the King's subjects, then in their houses. Phillips was brought before the House as an evidence, upon the business of Benson, the member for Knaresborough, selling protec-

tween y^e 2 Houses, vpon severall heads ; 1. touching y^e dissolving of ye Covent of Capuchins ; 2. about y^e list of y^e Queenes priests ; 3^{ly}. about a list of y^e Princes servaunts, to y^e end that such as are suspected in religion or otherwise may be removed ; 4^{ly}. about y^e governm^t of y^e Isle of Weight, that y^e same may be sequestered.¹ If y^e Houses of Parliament were full it is conceaved it would be much for y^e advantage of yo^r Ma^{tie}, & y^e good of the kingdome, & therefore I humbly offer it to yo^r Ma^{ties} considerac'on, whether it may not be fitt for yo^r Ma^{tie} to write to my Lo: Keeper to cause a proclamac'on to be forthwth issued to require all y^e members of both Houses respectively (all excuses set apart) to attend y^e Parliam^t in person to consider of such affaires as concerne y^e peace & good of this kingdome & other yo^r Ma^{ties} dominions.

Wee hope now shortly to heare of yo^r Ma^{ties} speedy & certeyne returne from Scotland, & that it may be wth hon^r & safety shalbe y^e dayly prayers of,

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The Com'ons are p^eparing a declarac'on of y^e state of y^e kingdome, as it was when they first met in Parliam^t.

Westminster, 2^o No^{bris}, 1641.

Eden. 9.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}."

"Yours apostyled."

Apost. 9^o 9^{bris}.—Rec^d 15^o 9^{bris} by Mr. Arth: Berkley.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

By my let^r of y^e 2^d of this moneth I advertised yo^r Ma^{tie} of y^e arrivall of Mr. W^m Murrey, & since he brings no certeyne news tions ; and first refused the oath on pretence that it was too general, and might criminate himself : and when the Bible was brought, he said, "that the Bible used by them was not a true Bible, and therefore his oath would not bind him." His committal, after repeating this, was on the principle that the words were used without any occasion given, to the scandal of the Protestant religion, and in the face of Parliament.

¹ The Parliament, soon after, removed the Earl of Portland from the government of the island, and appointed the Earl of Pembroke in his stead.

I believe that I haue done this in a former dispach, but in all euent I co'mand you to reiterate to the Keeper, in my name.

By my last I bade you expect mee on

the 20 : yet now I fynde that it will be the 24 before I can cum, but bee assured that I shall differ no longer, for by the grace of God, I shall sett out from hence on the 18: without faile : & for warning my Lo. Maior, take directions from my Wyfe, when to doe it, for though she knowes when I shall meete her, yet I haue left to her the choice of the place, & when I shall cum to London.

when yo^r Ma^{tie} intends to be here, but in generall that it wilbe shortly, I thought it my duty to put yo^r Ma^{tie} in minde, that ye Lo. Mayor & Cittizens here doe much desire to have tymely notice what day yo^r Ma^{tie} will come to this towne, that they may have y^e hono^r to waite on yo^r Ma^{tie}. There came l^{trs} yesterday from Irland w^{ch} confirme y^e newes of y^e Rebellion there, & say that the Rebels are come wthin 20 miles of Dublin, & are very cruell to y^e Englishe Protestants, and have donne much mischeif alreddy in y^e country :—There is order here for sending p^esently 2000 foote & 500 horse from hence into Irland : and S^r Ja. Ashley,¹ & Seriant Maior Merrick and other Officers are forthwth to goe away for that kingdome. The hast of this bearer, (who came even now to me from y^e Queene for a post warrant) will not give me tyme to write more to yo^r Ma^{tie} att p^esent, but that I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} yo^r presence here is now extreame necessary,² as well for yo^r affaires here, as in Irland : & I beseech God to send yo^r Ma^{tie} a speedy & safe returne, w^{ch} none desires more then

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 3^o No^{bris} 1641, att 9. at night.

Eden. 9.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I wrote to yo^r Ma^{tie} a few lynes yesterday by an expresse sent by y^e Queene, & this morning I receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} com'aunds by

¹ Sir Jacob Astley was Serjeant Major General of the King's Army-royal ; he distinguished himself much during the Civil Wars, and was created Lord Astley of Reading. Merrick was afterwards knighted by the King ; yet he joined the Parliament forces, was made Serjeant Major General by the Earl of Essex, and afterwards, at the siege of Reading, was appointed General of the Ordnance, being superseded in his former office by the famous Skippon, by order of the Parliament.

² It is a curious fact that the leading party in the House of Commons were as anxious for the King's coming back, as his friends could be ; for on this day it was ordered by the House that a letter should be sent to the King, pressing his return.

apostile of ye 30th of 8^{ber}. I have herewith sent yo^r Ma^{tie} a let^r from my Lo. Keeper (& to Mr. Th^rer a Bill) for new Sheriffs for this next yeare, that yo^r Ma^{tie} may be pleased to prick them there if you soe thinke fitt ; My. Lo. Keeper desir^d me wthall to send to yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e informac^{on} inclos^d, w^{ch} his Lo^p received (for sparing of some vpon that Bill) since y^e same was made vp, that yo^r Ma^{tie} may be pleased to take them into considerac^{on}.

The Lo^{lds} of yo^r Ma^{ties} Privy Councill here have heard read all y^e exaⁱac^{ons} concerning Mar: Hamiltons, and y^e Earles of Arguile & Lannerick absenting themselves, & since they received noe direcc^{ons} to com^{unicate} those exaⁱac^{ons} to any other then to yo^r Privy Councill, they thinke not fitt to publishe y^e same, otherwise then by declaring (to such as they shall have occasion to speake wth about that business), that they finde nothing in all those exaⁱac^{ons}, that in any sorte reflects vpon yo^r Ma^{ties} hono^r. The exaⁱac^{ons} themselves are by their Lo^{ps} left in my hands vnsealed, that any of y^e Lo^{ds} of yo^r Privy Counsell may see & reade them, but I am to give noe coppies of y^e same, & y^e Lo^{lds} willed me to signify to Mr. Th^rer, that if yo^r Ma^{tie} please that there shalbe any further publication thereof, they expect further direcc^{ons} therein. I have com^{unicated} to y^e Lo^{lds}, & given them coppies of Mar: Hamiltons 3^d le^{tr} to yo^r Ma^{tie}, w^{ch} doth give great satisfacc^{on} here to all men, that nothing in that vnhappy business doth in y^e least manner reflect on yo^r Ma^{ties} hono^r.

The Parliam^t^l here takes to hart y^e Rebellion in Irland, & hath expressed a great affecc^{on} to yo^r Ma^{ties} service in that partic^{lar}. They have resolved (as my Lo. Keeper desired me to signify to yo^r Ma^{tie}) to send thither 6000 foote and 2000 horse ; whereof 2000 foote and 500 horse presently ; & they are borrowing of y^e Citty 50 m^l, w^{ch} they hope wilbe sent, & in confidence, that they shall have y^e same to supply other paym^{ts}, they are now sending away 20 m^l, w^{ch} they have redly in cashe, & was designed for other affaires. My Lo. Keeper saith he hath sent yo^r Ma^{tie} l^{trs} touching

The Keeper will fynd by this inclosed to him that I meane not to pricke the Bill of Sherifs vntill my cumming home, so that for the present there is no neede of his information.

They neede to doe no more, but as they haue & resolute to doe.

There neede no more.

¹ Bulstrode, alluding to this Parliament, afterwards called the Long Parliament, observes that it was convened to meet on the 3^d November 1641, "a most ominous day ! for the Parliament met that day, in 20 Hen. VIII. which began with the fall of Cardinal Wolsey." Indeed the superstition of men's minds, at that period, seems to have both hastened and aggravated the political confusion : but the date is wrong ; it ought to have been 1640.

I shall not
faile to protect
you according
to my Power,
& (according
to the owld
Englishe com-
pliment) I
would it were
better for your
sake.

y^e Irishe rebellion to the Com'ittee of both Houses appointed to consider of & take care for all things that concerne that business, and will himself speedily give yo^r Ma^{tie} an accompt of yo^r Ma^{ties} comaunds, w^{ch} he received this day in y^e packet of y^e 30th of 8^{ber}. I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} I find that it is noe easie matter in these mallevolent tymes, for an honnest man (that hath any thing to doe in affaires) to p^eserve himself & his reputac'on : but I hope yo^r Ma^{tie} will protect yo^r faithfull servaunts, that shall wth integrity & dilligence endeavour to serve you, as will ever

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

There is an Act passing for pressing of soldiours for Irland, w^{ch} hath bene twice read, and is now in y^e Comittees hands.

Westminster, 4^o No^{bris} 1641.

Eden : 9.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}."

"Yours apostyled."

Apost. 9^o 9^{bris}.—Rec^d 15^o November by Mr. Arthur Berkley.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I wrote to yo^r Ma^{tie} by packet y^e 4th of this No^{ber}, & this now is to convey y^e inclosed from my Lo. Keeper : I hope it will meete yo^r Ma^{tie} on y^e way, for that I heare it said, that yo^r Ma^{tie} will set forth on Munday next, but because I am not certeyne of it, I haue directed this packet to Mr. Thr^{er}, w^{ch} otherwise I should haue addressed (according to yo^r Ma^{ties} com'aund) to my Lo^d Duke.¹ If yo^r Ma^{tie} doe not hasten hither, I doubt y^e p^eparations for Irland will goe on but slowly,² & soe may come too late to p^event great mischiefs there, notwthstanding y^e care of our Parliam^t. Here are besides (I assure yo^r Ma^{tie}) other affaires that highly import yo^r Ma^{ties} hast hither : If yo^r Ma^{tie} please to give leave to my Lo. Mayor & y^e Cittizens here to wayte on you into this towne, I be-

¹ Duke of Richmond.

² Yet the Parliament seems to have been very busy upon this subject ; for not only was there a Declaration framed on the 4th, but letters were also sent to the Lords Justices, pressing the most energetic measures of defence.

I onlie now re-
peate what in
a former I
sayd, that you
receaue order
from my Wyfe
for this, what
day it shall be ;
with this addi-

seech yo^r Ma^{tis} to com'aund that timely notice may be given of y^e day, that they may provide for it, for y^e best of y^e Cittizens expresse a great desire to shew their affec'on therein to yo^r Ma^{tis}, w^{ch} I humbly conceive it will not be convenient to declyne.

I humbly pray for yo^r Ma^{tis} happy and speedy returne, as being

Yo^r sacred Ma^{tis}
Most humble & obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 6^o No^{bris} 1641.

Eden: 13:

Written on the reverse of the last Letter.

Since I wrote the other let^r to yo^r Ma^{tis}, happening wth y^e opportunity of this messenger (who I hope will deliver my let^r safe to yo^r Royall hands), I thought it my duty to make this addic'on to my former let^r, that yesterday in y^e Comons House, it was moved to send instruc'cons of y^e Englishe Com'itees, to let yo^r Ma^{tis} know, that y^e Parliam^t here finds that ill counsellors have bene y^e cause of all these troubles in Irland, and that vnlesse yo^r Ma^{tis} wilbe pleased to discharge y^e ill Councillors that are about you & to take such as y^e kingdome can confide in, the Parliam^t doth hold itself absolvd from giving assistance for y^e busines in Irland: Some that found fault wth this expression were chequed, but there was noe p^fect resoluc'on in this, but y^e further considerac'on thereof was put off to a further day.²

I write this that yo^r Ma^{tis} may see how extreemely necessary it is for you to hasten hither. I beseech yo^r Ma^{tis} to keep to yo^rself this addic'on, & to burne this let^r, w^{ch} is now sent you from

Y^r sacred Ma^{tis}
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 6^o No^{bris} 1641,

a^{tt} 12 a clock at noone.

¹ It is difficult to ascertain why the King expresses himself thus. Essex possessed this office until 1642, when he was superseded by Edward, Earl of Dorset.

² This is a very curious fact, illustrative of the private history of that time. It is not stated in the Parliamentary History, nor in the usual records for

tion, that you direct my Lord Chamberlaine¹ (I meane Essex) to wait on my Wyfe, who will giue him directions what Howses he shall prepare for my vse against my returne.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

Since myne of y^e 6th p^esent sent by Mr. Greene a servant of y^e D: of Richmonds, I received y^e same night here at Oatlands yo^r Ma^{ties} apostile of y^e 2^d, and have sent yo^r Ma^{ties} l^re to y^e B^{pp} of London together wth y^e Bills signed for y^e new B^{pps}. I shall carefully p^rforme all yo^r Ma^{ties} com'aunds by yo^r last, & render yo^r Ma^{tie} a speedy account of y^e same. My Lo: Keeper sent me this evening this let^r to be conveyed to yo^r Ma^{tie} wth all dilligence, w^{ch} is y^e principall cause of this dispatch. I beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to be pleased to burne or returne to me all my lett^{rs}, for I perceave by y^e strict enquiry after the writer of Mr. Webbs let^r, that there is a vigilant & prying eye after all that is written hence, & I would not willingly, that y^e Lyons should be made iudges of my eares. Wee hope yo^r Ma^{tie} will set forth for these partes too morrow senight at farthest. I can say noe more to move yo^r Ma^{tie} to hasten hither then hath bene advertised. I pray God to send yo^r Ma^{tie} a speedy and safe returne. I am confident yo^r Ma^{tie} was never more welcome to y^e better sorte of Londoners than you will now be, & I beleeeve y^e whole kingdome will reioyce to heare of yo^r Ma^{ties} happy returne, w^{ch} wilbe y^e best newes that hath this yeare come to y^e eares of

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Oatlands, 7^o No^{bris} 1641.

Eden. 13.

The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas havinge reseaued a leter from London to nithg (night): that there is many of the Lords that ar gone of in the contree, and thatt he ar a fraid the shall want some for the bussi-historical research. It is remarkable that Sir E. N. does not take any notice of the apology sent to the Lords on this day by the Queen, excusing Father Phillips, and praying forgiveness for him, "if it shall appear unto you that he hath not maliciously done anything against the State, if, for my sake, you will pass by this present offence," &c. The Lords would have admitted him to bail, but the Commons refused.

I returne this
onlie to show
you that I am
careful to doe
what you de-
syre.

nesse of the bishops : having heard that Carnaruen¹ is in is owne hous some twentie milles of I belive very fit you should writt to him from the King to have him come to London for that time this bearer will carry your letter to him and having nothing to say more I rest,

Your assured friend

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

“ For Maistre Nicholas.”

R. 8^o No^{bris} 1641. The Queene to me.

This Letter, and the following ones up to the 10th of November, serve to fill up an hiatus in the Parliamentary History of this period.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

Yesterday I sent yo^r Ma^{tie} a l^{tr} from my Lo. Keeper by packet addressed to Mr. Th^rer. This day the Com^{ons} House considered of y^e heads of y^e instrucc^{ons} to be sent to y^e Englishe Com^{ittees}, & after a long debate, they voted y^e same in y^e House, w^{ch} was thereupon divided, & there were (as I heare) 110. votes against, & 151. for those instrucc^{ons}, amongst w^{ch} there is one head to y^e effect, (but a little quallified,) of what I wrote in my postscript by Mr. Greene. Those instrucc^{ons} (I am tould) are to be transmitted to y^e Lords.

You must see to cross this in the Lords House if it be possible.

It is here reported by those who have y^e speediest & certeynest advertisem^{ts} from Edinburg, that yo^r Ma^{tie} will not be here till Christmas : what reason they have for it I know not. The warr^{ts} for y^e new B^{ps} are passing as fast as may be : I this day put y^e Signet to those for Yorke & Lincolne.²

By the grace of God those will prove false Prophets.

I have signified yo^r Ma^{ties} pleasure to my Lo. Keeper to issue a

¹ Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon ; slain in 1643 at the battle of Newbury. His Countess was niece to Sir Richard Browne, as it is stated in Bromley's Royal Letters ; but how does not appear, for she was daughter of the Earl of Pembroke. When this nobleman was expiring in the field, he was asked if he had any suit to the King ? He replied, that “ he would not die with a suit in his mouth, to any King, but the King of Heaven ! ”

² These appointments did not take place.

You must
needs speake
with such of
my servants
that you may
best trust, in
my name, that
by all meanes
possible this
may bee
stoped.

I shall most
carefully.

Proclamac'on that all Parliam^t men attend in P[']liam^t, but his Lo^{pp} saith a Proclamac'on must issue in y^e ordinary way, and be first signed by yo^r Ma^{tie}, wherefore I have by his Lo^{ps} advise this day sent a warr^t accordingly to yo^r Ma^{ties} Attorney, to p^epare a Proclamac'on for yo^r Ma^{ties} signature, w^{ch} as soone as I can get from him shalbe speedily sent to yo^r Ma^{tie}. The Ea. of South^{ton}¹ hath bene in North^{ton}^{sh}: this senight, but wilbe here Wensday next, when I shall not fayle to acquaint his Lo^p wth what yo^r Ma^{tie} hath commaunded me. I heare there was this afternoone brought into y^e Com'ons House, and there read, a Declarac'on of y^e state of y^e affaires of this kingdome, w^{ch} relates all y^e misgovernmen^t and vnpleasing things that have bene donne by ill Counsellis (as they call it) since 3^o of yo^r Ma^{ties} raigne to this p^esent, and it reflects soe much to y^e p^eiudice of yo^r Ma^{ties} government, as if yo^r Ma^{tie} come not instantly away, I trouble to thinke what wilbe y^e issue of it : for surely if there had bene in this nothing but an intenc'on to have iustefyed the proceedings of this P[']liam^t, they would not have begun soe high as 3^o. The further considerac'on of this Declarac'on is to be had too morrow in y^e House of Com'ons. If yo^r Ma^{tie} shall not be pleased to keepe to yo^rself what I have written, and to burne this let^r, I may be lost. Yo^r Ma^{tie} cannot so much p^eiudice yo^rself, (if you come away & leave all things there vnfinished,) as you may now by delaying yo^r Ma^{ties} returne one day : I pray God there be not a designe to deteyne you there against the wishes & advise of all yo^r best servaunts here : God send yo^r Ma^{tie} a safe & speedy returne, so prayeth alwayes

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 13.

Westminster, 8. No^{bris} 1641.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}."

"Yours' apostyled."

8^o No^{bris} 1641. Apost. 13^o. 9^{bris}. Rec. 18. 9^{bris}.

Sent by Sir H. Hungate.²

¹ Thomas Wriothsley, Earl of Southampton. He died in 1667, without issue.

² Sir Philip Hungate, of Saxton, in Yorkshire, was the first Baronet, so

The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Maister Nicholas, I am vere sory that my lettre did not come time enouf to go. I haue reseaued yours, and I haue writt to the King to hasten is coming. I send you the letter and if little Will Murray is well enouf I would haue him go backe againe : to scotland without comin yer for a would haue him go to marow morning : tel him from me : but if he wher not well then you must prouide some bodie that will be sure for my letter must not be lost : and I would not trusted to and ordinaire poste : I am so ill prouided whitt personnes that I dare truste that at this instant I haue no living creature that I dare send : pray doe whatt you can to helpe me if little Vill Murray can not go to send this letter, and so I rest,

Your assured friend,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

"For your selfe."

R. 10^o No^{bria} 1641. The Q: that I should send an expr: M^{sr} w: her let^r.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

My last was by S^r Hen: Hungate, w^{ch} I hope will come safe to yo^r Royall hands ; & I now send this expresse by y^e Queene's com'aund to convey her Ma^{ties} l^{tr}, for her Ma^{tie} saith she hath alreddy sent all those she can trust, wth expresses to yo^r Ma^{tie} ; Wee hope that some of them will shortly bring y^e much desired newes of yo^r Ma^{ties} returne.

I have spoken wth y^e B^p of Lincolne about yo^r Ma^{ties} pardon of y^e 13 B^{ps} for y^e Premunire, & his Lo^p saith he wisheth that y^e pardon to them may be generall for all things else aswell as for y^e Premunire, whereof his Lo^p will consider better, & then I shall give yo^r Ma^{tie} a further accompt of that partic^{lar}. My Lo. Keeper tells me that there are many precedents, that y^e Peers in P^{liam}'t have chosen their owne Speaker, & that vntill y^e Lo. Burleighes created by Charles the First. No name of Henry appears in the Baronetage ; therefore the person alluded to must have been one of the numerous Knights Bachelors of that reign.

With all my hart.

later tyme, there is scarce any Record, that y^e King hath by l^{tr}s pattents appointed a Speaker for that House. Yo^r Ma^{tie} (I beleeeve) hath heard that both Houses of Parliam^t made an Ordinance Satterday last, that y^e Lo. Lieutenant of Irland shall forthwth rayse Volontiers here in Engl. to be transported for suppressing y^e Rebellion in Irland: yesterday his Lo^{pp} acquainting some Parliam^t men, that he doubted whether he might rayse men w^{thout} warr^t vnder y^e Great Seale, his Lo^{ps} doubt was made knowne in y^e Com^{ons} House, and thereupon it was in that House declared, that an Ordinance of both Houses was a sufficyent warr^t for his Lo^{ps} levying of Volontiers by beating of the drum &c. & an entry of such their Declarac^{on} was accordingly made in the Register of that House. I heare that it is written from Irland, that y^e Rebels there giue forth, that they expect yo^r Ma^{tie} every day at Don Luce,¹ w^{ch} is a calumny raysed by them much to yo^r Ma^{ties} dishonor & disadvantage, only to iustify their Rebellion, & were fitt to be vindicated. The Declarac^{on} remo^{strating} y^e effects of yo^r Ma^{ties} ill Councells, was yesterday by y^e Com^{ons} House taken againe into considerac^{on}, & a 4th parte thereof gonne thorow w^{thall} & voted there, & y^e rest of it wilbe passed there, as fast as may be, & then it is to be transmitted to y^e L^{dls}. There was yesterday a considerac^{on} in y^e Upper House concerning excluding y^e Papists Lo^{les}, & after a long debate that business was let fall, only there was an Order made that y^e lawes against Recusants should forthwth be put in execuc^{on}. Mr. Attorney² (according yo^r Ma^{ties} pleasure signified to him) hath drawne a Proclamac^{on}, to comaund all Parliam^t men to attend in Parliam^t, & having shewed it to my Lo. Keeper, his Lo^p (as Mr. Attorney tells me) likes y^e draught, but saith he conceaveth it not fitt to issue any such Proclamac^{on}, & that he will shortly satisfie yo^r Ma^{tie} therein. I beseech God to send yo^r Ma^{tie} a speedy & happy returne, wherein all yo^r Ma^{ties} best servaunts here ioin in prayer wth

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Com^{and} the
Keeper in my
name that he
warne all my
seruants to op-
pose it in the
Lords House.

This bearer
will fully sa-
tisfie you in
that.

¹ Dunluce Castle, near the Giant's Causeway, in the county of Antrim, the seat of the Earls of Antrim; but now in ruins.

² Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

The cause concerning y^e 13 B^{ps}, and the Bill touching B^{pps}, is to be considered of, Friday next.

Westminster: 10^o No^{bris} 1641, at 12: at noone.

Eden: 15.

“For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}.”

“Yours apostyled.”

10: 9^{bris} 1641. Apost. 15^o. Ret. by Sir H. Hungate,

20^o at one o'clock afternoone.

This was sent by Smith the Messenger.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

By the Queenes com'aund I sent yesterday one Smith expressly wth her Ma^{ties} le^r, w^{ch} I hope he will p^esent safe, & wth dilligence to your Royall hands. Wensday last there was a very greate debate in y^e Lo^{des} House, touching instrucc'ons p^epared by y^e Com'ons to be sent to y^e Englishe Com'itees att Edenburg; six of those instrucc'ons concerne y^e Rebellion in Irland, w^{ch} y^e Lo^{des} passed & approved of, the 7th was concerning ill Councillors & Councells,¹ w^{ch} held a very long debate, wherein I may not forbear to advertise yo^r Ma^{tie}: that y^e Ea: of Bristoll & his sonne y^e (Lo: Digby) did argue wth soe much reason² and iudgem't, as they got y^e 7th instrucc'on to be fairely laid aside, & yesterday att a conference of both Houses, the Lo^{des} tould y^e Com'ons, that they agreed to 6 of y^e said instrucc'ons, but y^e seventh was of soe great consequence, as they thought fit to leave it to a further tyme: Yo^r

Thanke them
from me.

¹ Mr. Prynne undertook to enlighten the Lords upon the subject of Evil Counsell. His reasoning was founded upon the anatomy of the human body. He also prophesied great advantages from a change, particularly if the King should not be permitted to select any servants except those approved by Parliament. Vide Parliamentary History, vol. x. p. 33 et seq.

² Yet Lord Digby had been an active enemy of Lord Strafford: but in a speech made to the House of Commons on the 21st of April, 1641, he recanted his former opinions respecting that Earl, so far as to refuse his signature to an official document, even whilst describing Strafford as “a dangerous and insupportable minister to free subjects.” The whole speech is a most curious specimen of special pleading! His apparent objects, however, were to preserve his own consistency, and yet to save Lord Strafford's life; his speech closing with a solemn protestation against any sentence of death: “and I do, with a clear conscience, wash my hands of this man's blood.”

By the grace
of God I will
doe it shortlie
myselfe.

Mat^{ie} may be pleased to take notice of y^e singular good service that was in that busines donne by those 2 noblemen, & especially by the sonne, who (I heare) did beyond admirac'on.

My Lo: Keeper & Mr. Attor: Gen'rall have deferred the issuing of y^e Proclamac'on to require all Parliament-mens attendaunce, as conceaving it to be vnseasonable att this tyme, & my Lo: Keeper hath promised that he will give yo^r Mat^{ie} satisfacc'on therein.

It is a poore
one.

I have herewth sent yo^r Mat^{ie} a speech published here in the name of Mar: Hamilton, that yo^r Mat^{ie} may see what artifice is here vsed by his friends to insinuate into y^e people a good opinion of his Lo^{ps} piety and integrity. The House of Com'ons was yesterday soe imployed about Irishe affaires, as they meddled not wth their Declarac'on, remonstrating y^e ill effects of bad Councells. It is advertised out of Irland that y^e rebels are 30. thousand strong, in severall places of that kingdome, & that they approche towards Tredaw,¹ for defence whereof, y^e Lo^{ds} Justices have sent 1000 foote, and 2 troopes of horse: if y^e rebells shall defeate those forces, it is thought they wilbe soone for Dublin. The Lo^{ds} Justices write, that vnlesse there be p^esently sent over 10,000 men, & 100 m^l. in monny, that kingdom wilbe lost: whereupon y^e Parliam^t hath ordered to increase y^e 6,000 foote (formerly directed to be raised) to 10,000: & they intend forthwth to passe an Act for raying of 200 m^l for the service of Irland: And where they formerly desired to have only 1000 Scots, now they will desire to have 10,000 Scots to be sent into Irland in such numbers as y^e Parliam^t shall give direcc'ons.

Yo^r Mat^{ie} may by these relac'ons perceave of what extreame necessity & importaunce yo^r Mat^{ies} speedy returne is, w^{ch} I beseech yo^r Mat^{ie} by all meanes to hasten, for notwthstanding all the discourses in Parliam^t, I see nothing put into acc'on. That yo^r Mat^{ie} may have a speedy, safe, & hon^{ble} returne shalbe ever y^e earnest prayers of

Yo^r Mat^{ies}

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The last night att 10. a clock, after I had closed this let^r, I received by Mr. Tho: Killegrew yo^r Mat^{ies} commands by 2 apostiles,

¹ Tredagh—the Irish name for Drogheda.

& am now going to Oatlands wth yo^r Ma^{ties} let^r to y^e Queene, having sent that to my Lo: Keeper: I shalbe carefull to p^rforme what yo^r Ma^{tie} by that dispatch hath comaunded me. All honnest men will reioyce at y^e welcome newes of yo^r Ma^{ties} returne.

Westminster, 12^o No^{bris}, 1641.

Edin. 18.

“For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}.”

“Yours apostyled.”

12^o No^{bris}. Apost. 18^o. Ret: by Mr. Proger¹ 22^o at 9. morning.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I sent a let^r this morning to yo^r Ma^{tie} by Mr. Jo: Digby,² since my wrighting whereof I receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} by Mr. Killegrew, & shall carefully obey y^r Ma^{ties} comaunds. This is only to conuey

to yo^r Royall hands a Pardon for y^e 13 B^{pps},³ p^epared by y^e Bp of Lincolne, who (it seemes) thought not fitt to trust any of yo^r Ma^{ties} learned Councell wth y^e drawing of it; his Lo^p sent me word that I should hasten it to yo^r Ma^{tie} (albeit you might be on yo^r way home) as I tendred y^e good of yo^r Ma^{ties} service, w^{ch} made me send it now, notwthstanding my owne humble opinion is, that since y^e hearing of y^e busines against these 13 B^{pps} was appointed to be this day, & in all likelihoode will not be put off to a day much farther, that it were better to deferre y^e passing of this Pardon till it shalbe seene what wilbe determynd concerning them, for if they shalbe sentenced by y^e Parliam^t, this pardon coming afterwards, and not menc^oning their being sentenced, will not be sufficyent, & if they shalbe quitted it wilbe needlesse; Nay if it shall not

He cam yester-day.

The returning of w^{ch} is the onlie cause of apostyling this.

But if [it] bee dated before (& therefor I haue not filled the eate) I suppose it may doe some good.

¹ Some notice of this Mr. Proger may be seen in “Les Memoires de Grammont,” where he is spoken of as about the person of Charles the Second, and said to be “confident de ses menues plaisirs.”

² Son to the Earl of Bristol.

³ In a subsequent letter, Sir E. N. again refers to the case of the Bishops, and to the fact of their demurring to the impeachment before the Lords, with the exception of Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, who pleaded “Not Guilty.” This was notified to the Commons by a message from the Lords on the 12th.

So I haue.

Doe you that
in my name.

be kept very secreat, it may be to their p^eiudice ; but yo^r Ma^{tie} com'aunding me in this busines to pursue y^e direcc'ons of that able & experienced B^{pp}, I held it my duty to obey wthout disputing : If yo^r Ma^{tie} shall thinke fitt to passe this pardon att this tyme, you may be pleased to signe it, as well on y^e back, that it may passe by imediat warr^t as on y^e fore part of it, & to send it sealed up, wth an expresse com'aund to my Lo. Keeper to seale, who will otherwise I beleeeve make some scruple to put y^e Great Seale to it.

Yo^r Ma^{tie} of y^e 6th of this moneth giues me good hope that this packet will meete yo^r Ma^{tie} on y^e way, & therefore I have addressed it (as yo^r Ma^{tie} comanded) to y^e D. of Richmonde. God of his mercy p^eserve & protect yo^r Ma^{tie}, & send you a safe and happy returne, w^{ch} is y^e prayer of all yo^r Ma^{ties} best affected servaunts, as well as of

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

As I was closing this let^r my Lo: of Bristoll sent me word that his sonne Mr. Jo: Digby goes not for Scotland, and therefore I have sent that let^r wth this to yo^r Ma^{tie}.

Westminster, 12^o No^{bris} 1641.

Eden: 17:

The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas, I have receaued your lettre. I am sory y^{ou} ar not well for I would haue ben glad to speake to you but it is of no haste therefore donat hastend your selfe for feare of being sick ; I send you a lettre for Milord Keeper that the King ded send to me to deliuer it if I though it fit. the subject of it is to make a Derclaration against the ordres of Parliamant which ar made without the King. If you beleue a fit time giue it him if not you may keepest till I see you.

the King will bee here sertaineleye the 20 of this monthe therefore you may aduertice the Maior of London. Your lettre that

you did writt to Carnaruen is comme bak to mee and I burnt it. he was not at is hows it should be vere nessessairie that you should inquaire where (he) is and writt to him and send to milord Cotinton for is proxies for I heer he as to (two) and is owne. and send to milord Southampton and Dunsemoure¹ to send their proxies till the comme them selues; the are in Warwicshier. hauing no more to say I reeste this 12 Novembre

Your assured friend

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

“For your selfe.”

12^o Nobris 1641. The Queene to me.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

This is y^e first day since my falling sick, that I have bene able to sit vp to write: & albeit I shall doe it wth some difficulty, yet my duty will not suffer me to forbear any longer to give yo^r Ma^{ties} an accompt, that by Mr. Barkley I receaved on Sunday night last yo^r Ma^{ties} comaunds in 3 apostiles dated y^e 9th of this moneth: All w^{ch} I have alreddy p^rform^d, excepting that concerning giving notice to my Lord Mayor of y^e day of yo^r Ma^{ties} entring into London, whereof (I beleeeve) I shall this afternoone have certeynty from the Queene.

Herewth yo^r Ma^{tie} will receave a proclamac^{on} for y^e attendance of y^e Parliam^t men, w^{ch} my Lo: Keeper & Mr. Attorney conceaved would have bene better to have bene forborne to be published till yo^r Ma^{ties} returne, w^{ch} is now so neere in expectac^{on}. The House of Com^{ons} hastens by all meanes y^e finishing of y^e Declarac^{on} or Remonstrance, & for y^e more speedy expediting of it, they have att y^e Com^{ittee} passed by many p^ticlars to avoide y^e delay of long debate.

The order of y^e House of Com^{ons} for y^e number of Scots to be sent into Irland, was altered from 1000. to 5000. vpon Saturday last in y^e afternoone, & thoughe (wee heare) that y^e employ^{mt} of

¹ Francis Leigh, Lord Dunsmore; afterwards Earl of Chichester.

soe many Scots wilbe very acceptable to that nac'on, yet it is here apprehended by wise men, that y^e same will exasperate y^e Irishe, & make them buckle more resolutely to a warre of rebellion, then otherwise they would doe. Since y^e plot in delivering to Mr. Pym¹ a let^r wth a plaster and a threatening in it, there was on Munday last in y^e evening, another as desperate and dangerous a conspiracy against him, & diverse members of both Houses, discovered by a poore zealous taylor, who, being in y^e fields mending y^e notes he had taken of a sermon, there happened to come (as he relates it) 2. souldier-like men, soe neere him, as he overheard them telling each other, how many of their acquaintance were to be forthwth employed to murther diverse members both of y^e Upper and Lower House, & this taylor² had y^e oportunity to take from those 2. mens mouthes y^e names both of y^e murtherers, & of y^e p'sons to be murthered: the reward to him that kil'd a member of y^e Lower House was to be 40s. & to him that murthered one of y^e Upper House £10. This discovery makes a great noyse in & about y^e Parliam^t House, & (however many wise men give no credit at all to it, yet) it hath produced severall orders for securing of y^e Parliam^t, & Parliament-men, the coppies of some of w^{ch} I have here inclosed sent yo^r Ma^{tie}. The order of y^e 16th p'sent,³ w^{ch} requires that y^e rigour of y^e law be put in excuc'on against all Papists, that shalbe founde in London or Westminster after this night, is not (I heare) thought by some of y^e Com'ons to be severe enoughe,

¹ The "History of the King-Killers" says of Pym, that "he was a rank Puritan, and the more dangerous, because he would outwardly appear zealous for the Church of England. Thus, like a subtle rebel, he was a great pretender to religion and reformation, ever finding faults, and inveighing against such as he called innovations and corruptions; yet with such counterfeit shews of respect as made him the more regarded, and his words the more pernicious." When the riots of the London Apprentices took place, soon after this date, the Lords sent a message to the Commons demanding their concurrence in appeasing the tumult, and punishing the authors of it; but Pym opposed the measure, exclaiming, "God forbid that we should stifle the voice of liberty, and oppose the just desires of the people!" A pamphlet of that period, alluding to the plot, is entitled "A damnable treason by a contagious plaster of a plague sore, sent to Mr. Pym," &c.

² His name was Beale. In fact the House could procure no further intelligence upon the subject; and it seems to have been either a piece of folly or of roguery on the part of the informer.

³ Not recorded in the Parliamentary History.

soe as it is conceaved there wilbe some more sharpnes added to that order this day : all y^e Papists Lo^{des} are alreddy removing out of this Towne vpon this order. ffriday last (w^{ch} was y^e first day of my falling into extremity) the Venetian Amb'dor complained att y^e Councell Boorde, that his l^{rs} had bene opened by y^e Com[']ittees of Parliam^t, & he was soe much incensed at it, as he there made his protest, & declared, that he would treat no further, & thereupon wth drew himselfe (as I heare) to Greenew^{ch}, till such tyme as he shall advertise that Republique wth that affront as he termed it. The agent of y^e D. of Florence is as highly distasted wth some violence that hath been vsed in serching his house by some officers or warr^{nt} of Parliam^t : these distasts given to those Ministers will (it is thought) light very heavy on y^r Ma[']ties su[']b[']ts trading [to] those partes, & will proove a very great p[']judice & interrup[']on to y^e trade of this yo^r Ma[']ties kingdome.

I heare from a very good hand, that there are diverse principall gent^t of Hertfordsh: who are desirous to tender their duty to yo^r Ma[']tie att Ware, & to wayte on you into that towne if yo^r Ma[']tie shall make any stop there, & they will bring wth them diverse of their neighbours & friends, who are desirous to shew how welcome yo^r Ma[']ties returne is into that country, whereof I thought good to give yo^r Ma[']tie this tymely notice, for that I humbly conceaue it would not be amisse for yo^r Ma[']tie in these tymes to accept grac[']ously y^e affecc[']ons of yo^r su[']b[']ts in that kinde, whereby you will have opportunity to shew yourself grac[']ous to yo^r people as yo^r Ma[']tie passeth, & to speake a few good words to them, w^{ch} will gaine y^e aff[']ons (especially of y^e vulgar) more then any thing that hath bene donne for them this Parliam^t. This day y^e examinac[']ons against O'Neale were read in y^e Com[']ons House, wherein were menc[']oned some l^{rs} & papers signed C. R., the effect of one of w^{ch} (sent to Capt: Leg¹) was (as I heare), that he should speake with S^r Ja: Ashley according to instrucc[']ons w^{ch} he had from yo^r Ma[']tie, & let none see that let^r but only S^r Ja: Ashley, who, together wth S^r Jo. Conyers² (as I am tould, but I beseech yo^r Ma[']tie to take

¹ Captain Leg, otherwise Colonel ; but better known as "honest Will Leg ;" and ancestor of the Earls of Dartmouth.

² This Conyers was afterwards, in 1643, nominated by the Parliament to the Lieutenancy of the Tower, after their forcing the King to dismiss Sir John Byron from that situation.

noe notice thereof from me) have bene very large & partic'lar in their examinac'ons, w^{ch} (I heare) reflect vpon yo^r Ma^{ties} person : it is thought that y^e Parliam^t will condempne O'Neale, but they are not yet resolved where or how to trye him : they doubte y^e testimony against him will not be soe full, as in a legall way to condempne him at the King's Bench barre, & they resolve not (as yet) whether it wilbe fit to doe it by a Bill, according to their legislative power.

I have (as yo^r Ma^{tie} com'anded) given war^t to my Lo: Keeper to renew y^e Com'ission of Lieutenn'cy for London, & to put in y^e new Lo: Mayor, who is a very well aff^{ted} servaunt of yo^r Ma^{ties}.

There is a Com'ittee of both Houses appointed to p^epare instrucc'ons for y^e Lo: Lieutenant of Irland, wherewth they are now in hand. The 13 B^{pps} did demurre to y^e busines ag^t them, but y^e Com'ons have in their House overruled y^e demurrer & voted that those B^{ps} shall answere in cheif. I dispatch y^e Bills for y^e new B^{ps} wth all expedic'on, & that busines is now in as good forwardnes as may be. I hope by that tyme yo^r Ma^{tie} shall returne hither, to be able to goe abroade, in y^e meane tyme, I will to y^e best of my strength & abillity p'forme y^e duty of

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 18: No^{bris} 1641.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

Yesterday I wrote to yo^r Ma^{tie}, & addressed it by packet to y^e D. of Richmond, as yo^r Ma^{tie} co'manded me when you should be on yo^r returne : since that, I have receaved from ye Queene 3 of my l'trs, all of them apostiled by yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e 13th of this moneth, & I humbly acknowledge myself infinitely obliged to yo^r Ma^{tie} for yo^r grac'ous goodnes in returning and burning my l'trs. I shall carefully obey all yo^r Ma^{ties} com'aunds in those l'trs. I have herewth sent for yo^r Ma^{ties} signature a draught for yo^r Royall assent

for y^e B^{pp} of Lincoln¹ to be Arch^{bp} of Yorke : this was brought to me this day, & there is noe returne as yet made vpon y^e *Congé d'eslires* for any of y^e other B^{pps}. I have herewth alsoe sent yo^r Ma^{tie} a Bill conteyning a Com[']ission to appoint y^e Ea. of Holland to be Lo: G[']rall of all yo^r Ma^{ties} forces beyonde the Trent, w^{ch} com[']ission yo^r Ma^{tie} gave order for, before yo^r iourney into Scotland, but it seemes by Mr. Attorney (who now brought me this by direc[']on from y^e Parliam^t to be sent wth speede to yo^r Ma^{tie}) that vpon y^e mistake of some name in y^e former draught it passed not y^e Greate Seale : I tould Mr. Attorney I did beleeeve yo^r Ma^{tie} would not thinke fitt to signe it now before yo^r returne ; but howsoever he wished me to send it away to yo^r Ma^{tie} wth y^e first, because he had promised soe much to y^e Lo^{dds} in P[']liam^t : this is all I know of this busines, & yo^r Ma^{ties} wisdome can best direct you what to doe in it.

The business against O'Neale is referred to a select Com[']ittee to be p^epared redy for y^e House against Munday next, & some thinke it wilbe hardly heard then, for albeit y^e Com[']ons haue a very good minde to proceede roundly against him, yet (I heare) y^e proofes are soe broken, as they will not make a full & cleere evidence : the worst in all that busines is, that it reflects on yo^r Ma^{tie}, as if you had giuen some instrucc[']ons concerning y^e stirring up y^e army to pet^{on} y^e Parliam^t : I hope it will appeare that yo^r Ma^{ties} intenc[']ons were only to reteyne y^e army in their duty & dependance on yo^r Ma^{tie}. The House of Com[']ons hath pressed y^e Lo^{des} very earnestly for removall of y^e Ea: of Portland from his gov[']ment of y^e Isle of Weight, but y^e Lo^{des} yesterday, upon his Lo^{ps} profession to liue & dye in y^e Protestant religion, let fall that busines as by y^e inclosed yo^r Ma^{tie} will perceave. There hath bene nothing donne these 2. dayes by y^e Com[']ons touching y^e Declarac[']on remonstrating y^e bad effects of ill councells, but it is thought that y^e same wilbe finished this weeke : there are diverse well aff^{ted} servants of yo^r M^{ties} in that House, that oppose that remonstrance wth vnanswerable argum^{ts}, but it is verily thought that it will passe notwithstanding,² & that it wilbe ordered to be printed wthout transmis-

¹ John Williams, D.D. Dean of Westminster, and formerly Lord Keeper. To this draught the royal signature was given.

² The motion was carried by 159 to 148, on the 22nd of this month.

sion to y^e Lo^{les}. The Com'ons (I heare) haue intercepted some let^{rs} that passed betweene Mr. Crofts¹ & y^e Dutchess of Chevereux,² and gotten the key of their *caraches*, whereupon Mr. Crofts hath this day bene exa'ied : as alsoe touching his soe frequent vissitting of Coll: Goring at Portsmouth, & y^e Coll: is also come vp by com'and of y^e Com'ons, & suspected, for that it hath bene informed, that he hath fortified that garrison to y^e land, & put forth some ould souldiers & put in new ; whereby yo^r Ma^{tie} may see that euery small matter ministers feare here amongst us. I dare not as yet stirre out of my chamber, being still weake, but (if I shalbe able) I intend (God willing) to wayte on yo^r Ma^{tie} at Theobalds on Wensday next, & in y^e meane tyme I humbly rest

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster : 19^o No^{bris} 1641.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}."

¹ Mr. Crofts and Mr. William Murray, already mentioned, were two of those whom the Committee of Parliament, sitting at Grocers' Hall, declared to be persons of vile character, and enemies to liberty ; passing at the same time a resolution that the King should be called on to dismiss them from his service.

Crofts had married the aunt of the Earl of Warwick ; and she had also been very active in Court intrigue previous to this ; as appears by a reference to Bromley's Royal Letters, page 85.

² This Lady was at the Court of England for the first time, in 1638 ; and is mentioned by Pennant, in his Journey to the Isle of Wight, as having swam across the Thames, in a frolic, somewhere, as he supposes, in the vicinity of Windsor. He also records part of a Copy of Verses made on the occasion by a Sir J. M.³ whose opinion of the Lady's frigid chastity is laughed at by the Cambrian Antiquary. Sir J. exclaimed :

"But her chaste breast, cold as the cloyster'd nun,
Whose frost to chrystal might congeal the sun,
So glaz'd the stream, that pilots, there afloat,
Thought they might safely land without a boat ;
July had seen the Thames in ice involved,
Had it not been by her own beams dissolved."

³ Probably Sir John Mennes, author of "*Musarum Deliciæ, or the Muses' Recreation.*" 2nd edit. 12mo. 1656.

The Queen to Sir E. Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas, I did desire you not to acquainte mi lord of essex of what the King commanded you touching is commin : now you may doe it and tell him that the King will be at Tibols vendnesday and shall lye there and upond thursday he shall dine at my lord Maiors and lye at Whitthall onely for one nitgh and upon friday will goe to hampton-court where he maenes to stay this vinter : the King commanded me to tell this to my lord of essex but you may doe it, for there Lords ships are to great prinsees now to receaued anye direction from mee : beeng all that I haue to say I shall rest

Your assured frand,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

“For Maistre Nicholas.”

R. 20^o No^{bris} 1641.

The Q: for me to signify to Lo: Chamb’lan.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} com’aunds yesterday by S^r Hen: Hungate,¹ & this day by Mr. Proger, & shalbe carefull to observe y^e same, as I hope I shalbe able on Wensday next to give yo^r Ma^{tie} an accompt att Theobalds.

I have now againe receaved assurance, that (as I formerly acquainted yo^r Ma^{tie}) y^e Gent: & diverse of y^e best of y^e freeholders of Hertfordshire will wayte on yo^r Ma^{tie} a myle before you come to Ware, & if yo^r Ma^{tie} please to make a little stop in that towne, that y^e better sorte may there kisse yo^r Royall hand, & y^e rest be spoken to by yo^r Ma^{tie}, it will give them very great contentm^t. If yo^r Ma^{tie} please to come softly from Ware, y^e most of those will wayte on

¹ See before, Letter 8th November, p. 131.

yo^r Ma^{tie} as farre as Theobalds, & if yo^r Ma^{tie} thinke not that convenient, they will wayte on yo^r Ma^{tie} only a mile or two out of Ware, & soe receave yo^r Ma^{ties} grac'ous dismission. I am y^e more dilligent to give yo^r Ma^{tie} this advertisem^t, because I know those gent: will not fayle in this manner to shew their affecc'ons & duty to you, & that county being soe neere a neighbour to London, it wilbe a good encouragem^t & comfort to yo^r well affected people here, to vnderstand, that they have neighbours that have y^e like dutifull affecc'ons to yo^r Ma^{ties} person and governm^t, as these Cittizens here, who are constantly resolved to giue yo^r Ma^{tie} a magnificent recepc'on, notwthstanding (I heare) there have bene some practises vnderhand to divert them from that their settled pu'pose.

By y^e Queenes direcc'ons I signified to my Lo: Chamb'layne on Satterday last, that yo^r Ma^{tie} intends to lye at Theobalds Wensday next, to dyne Thursday att y^e Guildhall, & that night to lye att Whitehall, & Friday to goe to Hampton Court. Coll. Goring gaue y^e House of Com'ons good satisfac'con Satterday last touching his fidellity & good affec'cons, and was thereupon dismissed: ¹ The Com'ons have bene in debate about their Declarac'on touching y^e ill effects of bad councells euer since 12 at noone, & are at it still, it being now neere 12 at midnight.² I staid this dispatch in hope to have sent yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e result of that debate, but it is soe late, as I dare not (after my sicknes) adventure to watch any longer to see y^e issue of it; only I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} there are diverse in y^e Com'ons House, that are resolved to stand very stiff for reiecting that

¹ Goring, in some subsequent transactions, is accused of acting a double part with the King and Parliament. When the troubles broke out, Goring, as Governor of Portsmouth, declared for the King: but that town being unable to sustain a siege, was soon lost to the Royal Cause. Goring then went to France, as Bulstrodesays, "with the money he had received on both sides, without making good his promises to either." That Author adds that, "if his conscience and integrity had equalled his wit and courage, he had been one of the most eminent men of the age he lived in; but he could not resist temptations, and was a man without scruple, and loved no man so well, but he would cozen him, and afterwards laugh at him." Goring's high command in the Army, and subsequent rise to the Peerage, are supposed to have been occasioned, in a great measure, by the very active assistance which he afforded to the Queen, whilst in France, in procuring both money and arms.

² The debate was not over until three the next morning. Sir Benjamin Rudyard said, that "it looked like the verdict of a starved jury."

Declarac'on, and if they p^evayle not then to protest against it. That yo^r Ma^{tie} may have a happy & safe returne¹ shalbe euer be y^e prayer of

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 22^o No^{bris}, 1641.

The Elector Palatine to Mr. Browne.

Sir,

Y^{rs} of the $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁹ past, brought along wth it soe good effects of y^r endeavours in my affaires, as that besides y^r owne assurances & my Resid^t Pawls constant testimonie of y^r assiduity, the contents of what it hath procured in my favour, doth clearely confirme me in confidence, & augment my obligation towards you.

My constant ill fortune hath taught me not to stand att this time

¹ The King did return on the 25th; which closed this portion of the Correspondence; and, it may be here noted, so satisfied was his Majesty with the loyal diligence of Mr. Secretary Nicholas, that on the next day, the 26th of November 1641, he conferred the honour of Knighthood on him at Whitehall; as appears from a MS. List of Knights of that reign in the Harleian Collection, No. 6832. In some old Tracts of that period there are recorded "Five most noble Speeches" spoke to his Majesty by the Mayors of several Cities on his route. The Mayor of York assured him—"Our well-tuned bells at this present time, to congratulate the welcome of so great a Prince, turne themselves, and doe willingly stand, as if Time commanded them soe to doe."—This loyal Magistrate added—"Our wives conceive with joye, our children's tongues are untied with alacrity, and each one doth strive to cry welcome home to so indulgent a Sovereigne, our fields doe seeme triumphing in their gay diapry to welcome home your Sacred Majesty, the woods doe seeme to contemne a falling Autumne or a nipping Winter, and assume unto themselves their Spring liveries, and all to welcome home your most Sacred Majesty."

The Mayor of Stamford, after describing himself as the King's "abject Lieutenant," talked of the loyalty of his fellow citizens, saying that "each would have bin glad to have entertained the place of a speaker;" whilst Huntingdon's right worshipful Magistrate boasted, "that although Rome's Hens should daily hatch of its preposterous eggs, crocodilicall chickens, yet under the shield of Faith, by you our most Royal Sovereigne defended, and by the King of Heavens as I stand and your most medicable councell, would we not be fearful to withstand them."

much upon formalities wth those whose helpe I need, therefore I must rest satisfied wth what the mentioned letter wants thereof, in hopes it will be supplied wth reallity when it comes to the push.

I thanke you also for y^r good advertisements to Pawel, & am very glad to find by y^r last concerning Mad^{lle} de Rohan,¹ the care w^{ch} the King my gracious Vncle hath of those that doe him acceptable service. And soe desiring the continuance of yo^r good offices in w^{ht} still further concerne the good of my interests, I assure you that I shall euer remaine

Y^r most affectionnate frend,

CHARLES.

Haghe the 7th of Sept: 1643.

For Mr. Browne,² Resid^t to the King of Gr: Britt: att Paris.”

Indorsed,

From Pr: El: Palatine 7: Sept. 1643.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Oxford, 30 Jan: 1644.³

Nicholas, I shall ad nothing to the seuerall good newes you will receaue by your fellow Secretairs letter, but the surpryse of Comp-

¹ This Lady was only daughter of the Duke de Rohan, one of the great leaders of the Hugonot Party in France; and who signalized himself in the affairs at Rochelle and Isle du Rhe. In Hardwicke's State Papers there is a letter from Sir Henry de Vic to Lord Conway, dated from the Coast of France in 1627, in which she is said to be on the point of marriage with the Count de Soissons; a match which the Duke of Buckingham also describes as most desirable for the Protestant Cause. Vide pages 34, 38, Hardwicke's State Papers.

It was at one time intended by Charles the First that Prince Rupert should marry Mademoiselle de Rohan: and in the Harleian Collection, vol. iii. 6988. 86. there is a letter from the King to Prince Maurice in favour of the match.

The Elector Palatine, the writer of this Letter, returned, soon after this date, into England, where he had long been a pensioner. His Brothers were true to the Royal Cause; but he actually joined the Parliament, and sat in the Assembly of Divines.

² Afterwards Sir Richard.

³ There is a long hiatus here in the Correspondence; evidently arising from the King's return. Nicholas seems to have been constantly attached to his Majesty's person, until his appointment as one of the Commissioners pending

ton House by S^r W. Compton:¹ & to bid you tell your fellow Comissioners,² that if there be any Treaty proposed concerning Scotland (of w^{ch} I forgott to speake to them at parting) theire answer must be, to demand a passeport for a gentleman to goe from me to see what stat the Marquis of Muntrose³ is in, there being no reason, that I should treate blyndefolde in so important a business, nor without the knowledg of him whom I haue now cheefly employed in that Kingdome & who hath undertaken my seruice there, with so much galantry, when no boddie else would: so I rest

Your assured frend,

CHARLES R.

R 31^o Janⁱ. 1644.

His Ma^{ties} let^r to me by Mr. Skipwth⁴ concerning Scotland during y^e Treaty at Uxbridge.

this well-known Treaty. The "good news" to which his Majesty refers, may have been the entrance of the Scottish army into England, which took place on the 16th.

¹ Sir William Compton was third son of the Earl of Northampton. His two elder brothers were also active in the King's service.

² These were, Duke of Richmond, Marquis of Hertford, Earls of Southampton, Kingston, Chichester; Lords Capel, Seymour, Hatton, Culpepper; Sirs Edward Nicholas, Edward Hyde, Richard Lane, Thomas Gardiner, Orlando Bridgman; Messrs John Ashburnham, Jeffery Palmer, and Dr. Stewart.

³ Montrose had long been faithful to the King's Cause, though the King had been kept ignorant of it by the artifices of the Marquis of Hamilton; for though in the beginning of the troubles in Scotland, as far back as 1641, Montrose had joined the Covenanters, yet seeing reason to change his politics, and trusting to the weight of his family alliances, he came to England with the loyal intention of rendering all the service in his power to the King. On his arrival at the English Court, Hamilton, so generally accused of deceiving Charles with respect to Scottish affairs, contrived so artfully to throw slights upon Montrose, that the latter returned to the Covenanters; with whom being again disgusted, he wrote to the King, expressing his loyalty and desire of serving him in the strongest terms; but it is asserted that Hamilton took the letter out of his Majesty's pocket, in the night, and sent it to the Covenanters in order to destroy Montrose's character in every quarter.

⁴ Perhaps Fulmar Skipwith, of Newbold Hall, afterwards created a Baronet by Charles II.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

Oxford 6 Feb.

Heerafter you shall doe well to marke their orders to saue us the labor to fynde out, w^{ch}e answers w^{ch}, as wel as to send the Papers themselves.

You have done well, but they, barbarusly.

Settle the Weekly dispatches for France with the Portugall Agent, & send me word how. I haue.

No Braggess must stager, much less alter you in the way

May it please yo^r sacred Ma^{tie},

I have herewth sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} coppies ¹ of such papers as passed betweene yo^r Ma^{ties} Comission^{rs} here yesterday, & y^e Londoners touching y^e Militia, w^{ch} this afternoone yo^r Ma^{ties} Com^{ission}^{rs} are to make appeare to be a power most naturally & legally in yo^r Ma^{tie}: this morning wee are to observe y^e fast according to yo^r Ma^{ties} Proclamac^{on},² but it must be donne here in y^e Inne, for wee cannot be permitted to have y^e Booke of Com^{on} Prayer read in y^e church here, & wee resolve not to goe to any church where the Divine service established by law may not be celebrated.

I have made reddy the dispatch to y^e King of Portugall, w^{ch} wilbe tendred to yo^r Ma^{tie} under my hand. I hope yo^r Ma^{tie} upon y^e advertisem^t I sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} & P. Rupert yesterday, hath before this taken order to p^event that Woodstock be not garrison'd as those of London have com^aunded. The Comission^{rs} from London say, that S^r W^m Waller ³ is marching westward as farre as Winchester, & those partes, wth 6000 men; and that there is an army of about 26,000 Scots to come into England att the opening of y^e spring: They vapour much att London, but I heare they are much devided amongst themselves. 276. 352. 574. 662.

¹ The King's military affairs at this moment were beginning to decline; for both the armies of Essex and Waller had now been augmented by recruits from the Metropolis and its vicinity, as well as from other associated Counties. Thus reinforced, these two Parliamentary Generals carried every thing before them, and advanced into Oxfordshire, where they hovered about the King's head-quarters, and kept the Royal Army in constant alarm.

² This fast was appointed by the King, for a blessing on the Treaty then pending at Uxbridge. In the *Mercurius Rusticus* is a copy of the prayer ordered for the occasion; but as it spoke of the "unnatural War," and prayed the Almighty to "let the truth clearly appear, who those are, which under pretence of the public good do pursue their own private ends," it is not surprizing that obstacles were thrown in the way of its celebration.

³ Waller was not a very fortunate General; but he was one of the "Self-denying Ordinance" men. Walker says of him, in the *History of Independency*, "that he lost two armies, yet was a gainer by the employment."

hath 123. 63. 21. 25. 290. 657. 116. 276. 352. 225. 276. 428. offering 163. 300. since 173. 276. 340. 225. 276. Militia, soe as 276. 10. 26. 198. 166. satisfac'on. 278. 225. 626. but I know not y^e p'ticlars, having not had tyme to speake wth them concerning their discourse, & when I know it, I shall not rely much upon it. God preserve yo^r Ma^{ties} person & prosper yo^r designes, soe prayes

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Uxbridge 5^o ffeb^r: 1644.

In the King's hand at the bottom of this Letter :

"I should thinke, if in your priuat discourses, (I nowais meane in your publique meetings,) with the London Commissioners, you would put them in mynde that they were arrant Rebelles & that their end must be damnation, ruine, and infamy, except they repented, & founde some way to free themselves from the damnable way they are in (this Treaty being the aptest) it might doe good ; & cheefly, if Hertford or Southampton would doe it, though I believe it will haue the owen operation by any of you, well strenthened with arguments : but the more of you that speakes in this dialect the better : This is written not as your Maister but your Frend,

C. R.

Owld Vulpone is not of my opinion, therfor I am not confident concerning this postrip, but refer my selfe to your

the Sh. of the Exche: Office.

353 : 116 : 276 : 352 : 225 : 276 : 428 : 560.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}."

"Yours apostyled."

$\frac{5}{6}$ ffebr. 1644.

My Le^r to y^e King apostyled concerning o^r proceedings in y^e Treaty at Uxbridge.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Oxford 8. Feb: 1644.¹

Nicholas, as I haue hitherto approued of your proceedings, so I will nott now censure them : since, upon the place, you may

¹ The points referred to in this Letter require no historical illustration ; but the Letter itself is a most remarkable document with respect to the private history of the Negociations at Uxbridge.

you ar, in constantly adhering to Conscience, Justice, & Honor.

In this, free dealing is the best. Conscience is not to be sould at any rate ; but if they will helpe me in the Militia to purpose, I will assist them for their Arears.

have founde such reasons as you haue not fully expressed to me : but, to deale freely, I could haue wished, that ye had used more reseruacion concerning the Militia : for though I could be content to buy Peace at the rate ye haue sett downe, yet ye might haue reserued something to haue beene drawn on by degrees upon debates, w^{ch} me thinkes is a more popular way, then coming at first to the height of your concessions, to leaue your selves nothing but negatiues, in case they should make any approaches to you : And for the tyme, I should thinke a much shorter tyme then three years were sufficient, to secure the performance of conditions, whereas one cannot tell how any men may be tempted, being so long settled in a manner in the Regall Power, to fynde excuses & delays for the parting with it, besydes the people being once inewred to that way of gouernement may not be so willing to returne to the owld way, as beliuing it of less subjection then Monarchicall : So I rest

Your assured frend,

CHARLES R.

If you be pressed to giue a positiue answer concerning Scotland, remember to follow the directions I gaue you in that particular.

Indorsed, R. 9^o febr. 1644.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Oxford 11 Feb. 1644.

Nicholas, the directions I gaue you concerning sending to Muntrose, I meane only should extend to those things w^{ch} meerly concerne Scotland, so if that wer the only case, it would be no hinderance to you for what concernes the Militia : but I doe not yet conceaue, how I can giue way, that ether of my Kingdomes should haue a hand in the gouernement of the other, without breache of trust to eather : yet in this I doe not so restraine you (so that ye still keepe the number, that I shall nominat, at least equall to the other, & enlarge upon no other points) but leaue it to your discretions what to doe, in case you shall fynde a Peace may be

gotten by it : But as for those things w^{ch} meerly concerne Scotland, I sticke close to my former order of sending to Muntrose, not being ashamed to auow that I shall be much guyded by what I shall heare from him, & should be much more ashamed to treat in those things, without at least communicating with him, who hath hazarded so freely and generously for me,

Your asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

Indorsed,

11^o ffebr. 1644. R. 12.

His Ma^{ties} concerning Scotland.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas, concerning the answers to the King of Denmarke & D: of Courland, Digby shall giue you my directions. As for the draught of the paper for Mondayes conference, I lyke it well, & for the critesisme I haue made upon it for the change of the tence, is only that ye should seeme to agree concerning the Militia of Scotland, before that of England were settled: lyking so well what ye haue alreddy done touching that article, that I com'and you not to vary a jott from the substance of it, unlesse it (be) to enlarge my power, or shorten the tyme: as concerning a safe-conduct for a messenger to Scotland, I meerly intend it for those things, w^{ch} only concernes that kingdome: to w^{ch} I am still constant, leauing you to your Christian Liberty, to what shall reciprocally concerne bothe; but, by your fauors, I understand not, how any demand can breake off a treaty, indeed insisting upon some, may doe prittely that way. At this tyme I haue no more to say: but, goe not a title lesse concerning Religion & Churchegouernement, & soe I rest

Your asseured friend,

CHARLES R.

Oxford 15 ffeb: 1644.

Indorsed,

R: 16^o ffebr. 1644.

The King concerning the Scots being
of England.

for the Militia

(A FRAGMENT.)

Oxford 17 Feb. 1644.

Memoriall for Se: Nicholas concerning the Treaty at Vxbridge.

1. First for Religion & Church Government, I will not goe one jott further, than what is offered by you alreddy.

2. And so for the Militia, more then what ye haue allowed by me: but, euen in that, ye must obserue, that I must haue free nomination of the full halfe; as, if the totall number Scots and all, bee Thirty, I name Fiuteene; yet if they (I meane the Englishe Rebelles) will be so base as to admitt of Ten Scots, to Twenty Englishe, I am content to name Fiue Scots and Tenn Englishe: and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreede on.

3. As for gaining of particular Persons: besydes Securitie, I giue you power, to promis them Rewards for performed seruices, not sparing to egage (engage) for places, so they be not of great trust, or to be taken away from honnest men in possession: but as much profit as you will: with this last, you ar only to acquaint Richemond, Southampton, Culpeper, & Hyde.

Indorsed, "R. 17^o febr: 1644. The Kings Memoriall concerning Religion and Militia during y^e Treaty at Uxbridge."

The King to Prince Rupert.

Nepueu,

Ticknill¹ 14 June 1644.

First I must congratulate with you, for yo^r good successes, assuring you, that the things themselues ar no more welcom to

¹ Tickenhall, near Bewdley. Whilst Charles was here, he paid a formal visit to Bewdley, previous to which the Corporation met to determine upon the mode of receiving the Royal visit. The charges are entered upon the Town Books; and it appears that the sum of two shillings was expended in repairing the Corporation Pew in the Church, and sixpence for sweeping out that sacred edifice; making in all, the grand total of two shillings and sixpence sterling!

In a very minute account of the King's affairs at this period, written by Sir



PRINCE RUPERT.

me, then that you are the meanes. I know the importance of supplying you with powder, for w^{ch} I haue taken all possible wayes, having sent both to Ireland & Bristoll. As from Oxford this bearer is well satisfyd that it is impossible to haue at present, but if he tell you that I may spare them from hence, I leaue you to iudge, hauing but 36 left: but what I can gett from Bristoll (of w^{ch} there is not much certainty, it being threatned to be besieged) you shall haue.

Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms, and preserved in the Harleian Collection, No. 4229, it is stated that the King arrived at Bewdley on the 12th; after having made that very arduous and judicious retreat from Oxfordshire, in which he evaded the pursuit of both Essex and Waller, by forced marches over the country between Witney and Worcester, along what is now the Cheltenham road. The march upon Bewdley is said, by Sir Edward, to have been made with the intent of saving Worcester from a siege, of drawing Waller further from London, and also of enticing him into a difficult country, where the King's army, then without artillery or heavy baggage, might have considerable advantages over him. Waller, however, avoided the western side of the Severn, and fixed his head-quarters at Bromsgrove, contenting himself with advancing a small body of horse to Kidderminster, the "Foreign" of which town, as it is called, reaches to the eastern end of Bewdley Bridge. The King's foot were all in Bewdley on the 14th, and the horse quartered along the Severn towards Bridgenorth.

The King was so much aware of the delicacy of his situation at this moment, that on the day preceding the date of this letter, he had formed a Council of War, directing them to meet every day and report their proceedings in respect to forming a plan of retreat, either into Wales or upon Shrewsbury; and on this day the Council and King determined to retreat back to Worcester, and so on to Evesham. He was closely followed by Waller; but, immediately after this date, eluded him so far as to reach Daventry before him, and finally defeated Waller at Cropredy Bridge on the 29th of June.

At the date of this letter the King had got intelligence that York was besieged by the Scottish army (just before the battle of Marston Moor), which was also joined by Fairfax and Lord Manchester; this explains the military orders here given, which are in perfect consonance with the existing accounts of Prince Rupert's conduct previous to that battle. It may be remarked, however, that Bulstrode, as well as others, brings an accusation against Rupert for fighting the Rebel forces after raising the siege; but the express words of the King imply a desire not only for the relief of York, but also for a battle with the enemy, else why did he allude to "beating the Rebel armies" as a means of enabling him to spin out time? This is a most important fact in the history of the Civil Wars; for the Marquis of Newcastle, and other General Officers, were so disgusted with the Prince for fighting, against or without orders as they supposed, that they left England immediately, going to Hamburg, and thereby the whole of the north and loyal Yorkshire were lost to the Royal Cause!

But now I must giue you the trew state of my affaires, w^{ch} if their condic'on be such as enforces me to giue you more peremptory com'ands then I would willingly doe, you must not take it ill. If York be lost, I shall esteeme my Crowne little lesse, vnless supported by yo^r suddain march to mee, & a miraculous conquest in the south, before the effects of the northern power can be found here: but if York be relieved, and you beat the Rebels armies of both kingdomes w^{ch} are before it; then, but otherwise not, I may possibly make a shift (vpon the defensive) to spin out time, vntill you come to assist me: Wherefore I command & coniure you by the duety & affecc'on w^{ch} I know you beare me, that (all new enterprises layd aside) you immediatly march (according to yo^r first intention) with all yo^r force to the reliefe of York: but if that be either lost, or haue freed themselves from the besiegers, or that for want of powder you cannot vndertake that work: that you immediately march with your whole strength to Worster, to assist me and my army, without w^{ch}, or yo^r having releived York by beating the Scots, all the successes you can afterwards haue, most infallibly wilbe vselesse vnto me. You may beleive that nothing but an extreme necessity could make me write thus vnto you, wherefore, in this case, I can no wayes doubt of your punctuall compliance with

Yo^r loving Oncle & most faithfull friend,

CHARLES R.

I commanded this bearer to speake to you concerning Vauasor.

(Copy.)

At a Councell at Oxford, 5^o December 1644. Present
The Kings most excellent Ma^{tie},

Prince Rupert	Lo: Chamberlaine
Prince Maurice	Ea: of Berks
Lord Keeper	Ea: of Sussex
Lord Treasurer	Ea: of Chichester
Lo: Duke of Richmond	Lo: Digby
Lo: Marq ^s Hertford	Lo: Seymour
Lo: Great Chamb'laine	Lo: Culpeper
Ea: of South'ton	Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Mr. Chanc^r of y^e Excheq^r.

A Letter being then read written by y^e Earle of Essex to his Highness Prince Rupert Generall of his Ma^{ties} Armyes in these words,

"S^r,

There being a message sent from his Ma^{tie} by y^e Committees of both kingdomes that were lately at Oxon concerning a safe-conduct for y^e Duke of Richmond & E. of South'ton without any direc'con: I am commanded by both Houses of Parliament to give yo^r Hignesse notice, That if y^e King bee pleased to desire a safe conduct for y^e Duke of Richmond & y^e Ea: of South'ton wth their attendants from y^e Lords and Commons assembled in y^e Parliam^t of England at Westminster, to bring to y^e Lords and Commons assembled in y^e Parliament of England, and y^e Commission^{rs} of y^e kingdome of Scotland now at London, an answer to the Propositions presented to his Ma^{tie} for a safe and well grounded peace, it shalbee graunted.—This is all I haue at present to trouble youre Highnesse, being

Yo^r Highness humble Servant,

3^o Decemb. 1644.

Essex."

Which Letter and y^e expressions therein being fully considered & debated, it was by the whole Councell vnanimously resolved, That his Ma^{ties} desire of a safe-conduct in y^e termes expressed in that Letter, would not bee any acknowledgment or concession of y^e members of y^e two Houses sitting at Westminster to bee a Parliament, nor any wayes prejudice his Majesties cause.

Whereupon his Ma^{tie} declaring openly at y^e Board, that since such was their Lo^{ps} opinion, that hee did therefore and (*eo animo*) consent thereunto. And accordingly his Ma^{tie} desired his Highnesse Prince Rupert, as his Ma^{ties} Generall, to retorne this answer :

“ My Lord,

I am commanded by his Ma^{tie} to desire of yo^r Lo^p a safe-conduct for the Duke of Richmond and the Ea: of South’ton wth their attendants, coaches and horses, and other accomodac’ons for their journey in their coming to London, during their stay, and in their returne when they shall thinke fit from y^e Lords and Com’ons assembled in y^e Parliament of England at Westminster, to bring to y^e Lords and Commons assembled in y^e Parliament of England and y^e Commission^{rs} of y^e Parliament of Scotland now at London an answer to y^e propositions presented to his Ma^{tie} for a safe and well-grounded peace. Resting

Yo^r Lo^{ps} Servant,

Oxon. 5th Decemb^r 1644.

RUPERT.”

Which said answer was accordingly sent to London by a Trumpeter.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

• The following is in the hand-writing of Sir E. N.

Memorandum : that the King and myself of all the Councell Boorde were the only persons that concurred not in opinion ; that it was fitt to call those sitting at Westm^r a Parliam^t. P. Rupert thought he were p^esent did not vote, because he was to execute what should be resolved on by this Councell ; but by the orderr & practice of the Councell Boorde, if the maior part agree to any act or order, all the Councillors that were p^esent att the debate, albeit they dissented are involved, and are to be named as if they consented.—E. N.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hemly Hall,¹ 16 May, 1645.

Nicholas, I haue receaued, & thanke you for your seuerall dis-

¹ In Staffordshire, the seat of Lord Dudley.

paches, but haue no newes to send you in recompence to yours,
 nor expect to sende you any untill we shall come to 488 : 338 :
 w^{ch} is our first 361 : being not yet resolved whether to goe after-
 ward :¹ I am glad you goe so well on wth your 448 : 54 : 74 :
 & hope you will take as great care that you be not disturbed
 by mutinous people : this is all at this tyme from

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

Crown L^s : c o n t r i
 Let hencefoorth 337 . signefy 1 : 40 : 30 : 70 : 33 : 23 :
 b u t i o n Portland p a p
 50 : 71 : 24 : 40 : 31 : 73 : & 447 : 74 : 47 : 10 : 48 :
 i s t
 25 : 53 : 72 : 75.

Being newly come hither to Bisberry,² I haue certaine intelli-
 gence that S^r John Pryce, being Gouvernor & in Mungomery
 Castell, is declared, & houlds it for me.

16^o Maij 1645. R: 21^o.

The King to me.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas,

Chetwin, 18 May 1645.

I receaued yours of the 16. this morning, to w^{ch} I haue litle to
 answer but to thanke you for your often aduerticements,³ & to
 tell the Marquis Winchester that he recompence his woode losse

¹ On the day following the date of this Letter measures were taken by the Parliament for the siege of Oxford; for the Commons, on the 17th of May, sent a message to the Lords, to let their Lordships know "that the House of Commons, out of a desire to put an end to this miserable war, do think it fit that siege be laid to the City of Oxford, for the taking it, it being the centre of our troubles."

² Bibury in Oxfordshire.

³ It was, however, the King's intention about this period, to have done more for Sir Edward than mere thanks; for in a letter to the Queen, dated on the 27th of March, intercepted and published by the Parliament, he says, "As for

out of Wallops :¹ for newes I refer you to your fellow Secretair & frend, the generall being, that we are (God be thanked) all well & in hart, the Rebelles hauing twyce offered to beate up some of our quarters, but wth losse to themselues : I desyre to know how you goe on in your recuting [recruiting] & fortifications, as well as you haue satisfied me concerning your prouisions : So desyring you to send thease inclosed to 454 : I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

(Address) "for your selfe."

Indorsed ; 18^o Maij. 1645. R. 21^o. The King to me.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Wiston,² 4 June 1645.

Nicholas, I haue receaued yours, of the 30 : May, this morning, none of yours hauing yet miscarried : but I would not answer any
 untill I were marching towards
 of them myselfe 292 : 287 : 177 : 307 : 222 : 182 : 273 : 36 :
 you wi'hout any
 10 : 33 : 20 : 53 : 73 : 313 : 75 : 298 : 232 : thinking of 92 :
 thing else before I haue
 285 : 74 : 44 : 4 : 54 : 45 : 76 : 105 : 134 : 46 : 77 : 177 :
 ed you yet I must
 157 : reliu 133 : 78 : 313 : 312 : 177 : 212 : deale 376 :
 freely wth you that my army
 203 : 79 : 298 : 313 : 283 : 17 : 84 : 83 : 325 : is so weake
 being not 4000 foote & sca
 (105 : 182 : 226 : 70 : 80 : 143 : 497 : 375 : 93 : 81 : 55 :
 rce horse as I
 112 : 53 : 45 : 82 : 3500 : 174 : 73 : 95 : 177 : 74 : 54 :
 shall vn to relieue
 14 : 11 : 4 : 6 : 73 : 292 : willingly hazard 273 : 33 : 46 :

Jack Barclay, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making him Master of the Wards ; for Cottington had it long before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secr. Nich. if he then would haue received it ; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it."

¹ Evidently in reference to the sequestrations inflicted upon that gallant and loyal nobleman.

² There are several places of this name ; but it seems probable that the Wiston here meant is in Nottinghamshire.

Oxon before Lo. Goring¹ or
 5 : 23 : 60 : 57 : 436 : 105 : 134 : 382 : 234 : 75 : 7 : 12 :
 Garrarde be joyned to me
 34 : 33 : 44 : 105 : 76 : 184 : 31 : 45 : 21 : 273 : 221 :
 an absolute
 except such 13 : 32 : 77 : 10 : 50 : 53 : 40 : 4 : 61 : 70 :
 necessity that
 46 : 78 : 32 : 57 : 1 : 44 : 54 : 55 : 45 : 71 : 85 : 283 :
 Oxon wilbe lost if not
 436 : 305 : 105 : 79 : 4 : 42 : 53 : 72 : 183 : 226 : 70 :
 by such a day, wherefore as you
 78 : reliued 106 : 267 : 11 : 123 : 302 : 134 : 97 : 313 : 5 :
 love my p^servation
 43 : 63 : 44 : 80 : 18 : 86 : 81 : 243 : 54 : 45 : 33 :
 use
 62 : 11 : 70 : 185 : 82 : 291 : 46 : 83 : all possible meanes
 of prolonging yo^r provisions though it
 233 : 244 : 196 : 182 : 314 : 448 : 55 : 77 : 286 : 178 :
 be by chasing out all
 105 : 106 : 78 : 2 : 14 : 13 : 54 : 182 : 232 : 90 : unneces-
 people who haue not
 sary 47 : 44 : 40 : 48 : 6 : 45 : 304 : 157 : 226 : 71 : 79 :
 prouision for themselves & stin
 448 : 134 : 281 : 19 : 53 : 46 : 5 : 57 : 54 : 74 : 93 : 75 :
 ting D. of
 55 : 70 : 24 : 30 : 71 : 182 : euery one (117 : 233 : 512 :
 Yorke not ed to a small
 226 : 72 : except 133) 273 : 73 : 10 : 74 : 53 : 17 : 11 : 4 :
 proportion of meate
 44 : 77 : 244 : 47 : 40 : 33 : 70 : 185 : 78 : 233 : 221 :
 euery day & doe
 12 : 71 : 45 : 79 : 129 : 86 : 80 : 123 : 93 : 118 : 45 :
 not me to you wthout very
 226 : 72 : 81 : hasten 221 : 273 : 313 : 298 : 232 : 294 :
 very necessity
 74 : 60 : 44 : 33 : 84 : 74 : absolute 30 : 46 : 3 : 45 : 53 :
 for upon the faith
 55 : 23 : 70 : 85 : 83 : 73 : 134 : 293 : 235 : 281 : 137 : 233 :

¹ Goring at this period was engaged in the siege of Taunton, and had been ordered, as Bulstrode asserts, by letters from the King, to quit that place and join his Majesty, who was afraid, just before the battle of Naseby, that the enemy might be too powerful for him. Bulstrode says that he wrote the General's reply, in which Charles was urged to act upon the defensive until Taunton should be taken; but this writer hints some strong suspicions of Goring being actuated by sinister views. The whole passage is curious. Vide Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 124. Edit. 1721.

of a Christian noe
 75 : 10 : 76 : 1 : 14 : 33 : 23 : 53 : 70 : 24 : 11 : 30 : 77 :
 tyme be lost for yo^r
 226 : 498 : shall 105 : 78 : 5 : 40 : 54 : 72 : 134 : 314 :
 succour how soone it may
 488 : 78 : 16 : 41 : 36 : 266 : 235 : 45 : 79 : 178 : 209 :
 be donne w^h any of not
 105 : 121 : 298 : 92 : probability 233 : 226 : 71 : 73 : 16 :
 hazarding like
 12 : 56 : 13 : 34 : 20 : 182 : 199 : 77 : mad men ; which
 I stay at Harborow
 177 : shall 55 : 72 : 10 : 86 : 94 : 74 : 15 : 11 : 34 : 50 : 43 :
 (w^{ch} is my morrows march)
 35 : 39 : (299 : 178 : 17 : 84 : 216 : 41 : 38 : 55 : 222 :)
 some tyme to gather up &
 262 : 498 : 273 : 75 : 8 : 12 : 281 : 34 : 293 : straglers 93 :
 to make provision to supply you for this service
 273 : 219 : 448 : 273 : 486 : 313 : 134 : 90 : 282 : 318 : &
 march faster or
 then wee shall 222 : 76 : 64 : 11 : 53 : 70 : 44 : 33 : 234 : 77 :
 slower
 54 : 5 : 42 : 307 : according to intelligence. So I rest
 Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

Indorsed, 4^o Junij 1645, "the K^e to me."

* * The decyphering is in the hand-writing of Sir Edward Nicholas.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas,

Daintry, 9 June 1645.

I have receaved so many letters from you, that I believe none of them ar miscaried,¹ & this morning one from you of the 7. & wth it one of the same date from all my Comissioners except Southampton and Dorset by w^{ch} I perceave they were not so much stressed by the siege as the rest : but the cheefe end of this is, by you to seed this inclosed to 454 : tell 394 : that I have

¹ The fact is, however, that Charles's general correspondence was, at this time, much interrupted ; for the letter of Goring, already alluded to, was intercepted by Fairfax, and induced the Rebel Commanders to bring the King to action at Naseby, before he could be joined by the army from the West.

his
 receaued 165 of the $\frac{1}{2}$ of May but would not stay this messenger
 untill it was desyfered: I will say no more now, but if we peri-
 patetiques get no more mischances then you Oxfordians¹ ar lyke
 to haue this somer, we may all expect probably a merry winter.
 So I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

"For your selfe."

9^o Junij. 1645. R. 10^o. His Matie 1^{re} to me.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas,

Daintry, 11 June 1645.

As I thanke you for aduerticing me, so I much wonder^{at} 94 :
 the letter & message^{wh} the
 281 : 204 : 93 : 221 : 53 : 55 : 10 : 7 : 44 : 73 : 299 : 281 :
 Lords brought me,
 406 : 54 : 74 : 50 : 33 : 40 : 60 : 8 : 14 : 70 : 75 : 221 : for
 that the Councell was neuer
 you know 283 : 281 : 351 : 76 : 36 : 11 : 53 : 77 : 30 : 129 :
 wont to debate
 78 : 37 : 40 : 31 : 71 : 79 : 273 : 80 : 20 : 45 : 51 : 12 :
 not propounded
 23 : 72 : 46 : upon any matter : 226 : 70 : 81 : 244 : 249 :
 to them by King it
 133 : 273 : 281 : 17 : 82 : 106 : y^e 398 : & certainly 178 :
 were thing if my marching Army
 307 : a strange 285 : 183 : 83 : 18 : 84 : 222 : 182 : 325 :
 at the head of them
 (espetially I being 94 : 281 : 173 : 233 : 281 : 19 : and) should
 by my sitting
 be gouerned 106 : 73 : 17 : 85 : 74 : 53 : 24 : 70 : 122 :

¹ A letter written by his Majesty, on this day, to the Queen, was inter-
 cepted by the emissaries of the Parliament. In it he assured her that the
 Rebels had been forced to raise the siege of Oxford, in consequence of his
 march after the taking of Leicester; and that quarrels were then very frequent
 between Fairfax's and Cromwell's soldiers. He also observed that his affairs
 never were in so hopeful and so fair a way; adding, in the tenderest manner,
 that all he wished for, in case of eventual success, was the undisturbed enjoy-
 ment of her society!

Land Abay
 morrow.¹ I marche to 4 : 10 : 30 : 20 : 11 : 50 : 12 : 84 :
 Melton
 82 : after that to 17 : 44 : 5 : 70 : 40 : 31 : & so to 51 : 45 :
 Belvoir
 6 : 60 : 42 : 23 : 33 : but I asseure you that I shall looke before
 North
 I leape farther 32 : 43 : 34 : 72 : 14 : 73 : but I am going to
 supper, so I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R

Woluerhampton 17 June.

This was written befor the Bataile.

“For your selfe.”

17^o Junii 1645. The King to me before y^e Battaile of Naisby.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.²

Nicholas, I thanke you for the freedom you haue used in your
 the ill intelligence betwixt
 letters to me, & as for 281 : 23 : 4 : 6 : 395 : 105 : 70 : 36 : 24 :
 my Soldiers
 87 : 71 : 73 : 17 : 84 : 484 : 53 : I belue I haue found the bottom
 of it, & haue put such a remedy to it, as hope heereafter to haue
 little troble that way : and am confident, that there is 226 : 288 :

¹ The “inclosed” Letter is not in the possession of the Editor ; but, on a comparison of dates and facts, it appears to have contained the news of the capture of Leicester. It was at midnight, after this Letter was written, that a Council was held in the King’s tent, and a resolution taken to give battle to the enemy ; but it also appears by this Letter, that when Charles retired to rest on that night, he had no intention of adopting those measures which, recommended by a *midnight Council*, proved the entire ruin of his affairs.

² This Letter is without date of place ; but it, and several of the subsequent ones, mark the King’s route between the battle of Naseby and his arrival at Newark ; a space of time during which Bulstrode describes him as “flying from place to place, not well knowing which way to turn himself.” It is evident, however, that he had specific plans in view ; on account of which he visited Wales, Shropshire, and afterwards Huntingdon and Yorkshire, before he proceeded to Newark.

113 : 233 : 487 : with 10 : 153 : 55 : 72 : 382 : 93 : 414 :
fancies

104 : 477 : 165 : 295 : 76 : 64 : 11 : 30 : 1 : 26 : 44 : 54 :
for this I haue very good ground ; but now I desyre to know who
ar the melancolly men amongst you, that is to say if any dispare
of our business, (for we heere thinke that we had so much the
better, as we might spare them thus much & yet be upon equall
Southampton

termes,) & in particular what 478 : 421 : 385 : 93 : 406 : 54 :
45 : 18 : 46 : 34 : thinkes of my present affaires : I haue so
good hopes of my Welshe leauiers that I dout not but (by the grace
of God) to be in the head of a greater Army within this two
monthes, then any I haue seene this yeare, & so I rest

Your most asseured friend,

CHARLES R.

This is in my owld cyfer to show I haue not lost it ; send this
inclosed where you use to doe.

“ For your selfe.”

R: 8^o July 1645. The K^s to me.

Prince Rupert to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Sir,

I sent you word by Coll^l Terringham that I had receaved your
letter by this woman, so alsoe the unfortunat losse of brige Watter,
sence w^{ch} I heare noe sertay'ty of the Enemy's motions. there is
a shippe landed at dartmouth laden wth 200 bar^l of powder and

If Fairfax advance speedily
store of arms. 209 : 474 : 53 : 76 : 33 : 99 : 10 : 40 : 343 :
to us Wee shall bee
40 : 225 : 347 : 363 : 369 : 28 : 87 : 97 : 110 : forced 76 :
to quit Bath want of men and
347 : 308 : 437 : for 13 : 54 : 81 : 50 : 278 : 248 : 100 :
victuals hee give us
616 : 30 : 527 : but if 604 : 91 : 183 : 174 : 363 : 20 :
time wee doe well
51 : 17 : 38 : 43 : 369 shall 125 : 373 : 273 : 158 :—I heare

but little from G^l Goring.¹ Prince Charles is at Pendennis
 544 : 280 : 207 : 101 : 4 : 140 :
 Castle that S^r Jo: Berkly
 40 : 79 : 207 : 96 : 452 : it is reported 354. 431. 190. 174.
 hath giuen five hundred to some I know for to stop
 81. 153. 204. 158. 347. 328. body 205. 218.—148. 347. 30. 50.
 Prince Charles² from coming to Exeter.
 27. 6. 40. 544. 160. 119. 208. 66. 347. 470. I doubt we shall
 Sir R. Grenville⁴ y^e only souldier in
 shortly see the mistery of this.³ 482. 353. 282. 225. 594. 208.
 the West is & is at
 353. 371. 207. 76. discontented 78. 40. 77. 90. 100. 207. 101.
 his owne house y^e
 184. 284. 85. 24. 33. 28. 43. w^{ch} he will defend. What 499.
 King will doe I know not. Lo: Digby s word (part erased) I shall
 371. 125. 205. 218. 267. 456. send. 28. 13. 76. 40. or 205. 30.
 as on as some s
 85. 97. 108. 102. so 2. 82. 90. 102. 328. speculation 30. 20. 31.

¹ Goring had been defeated by Fairfax, on the 10th of this month, at Sutton-field, near Bridgewater, which town surrendered to the Parliament on the 23d. Colonel Windham, the Governor, made a gallant defence, for he had been educated in principles of rational loyalty. Some years afterwards, when he assisted Charles the Second in his escape, he told the King, that Sir Thomas, his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five sons: "My children," said he, "we have hitherto seen serene and quiet times under our three last Sovereigns; but I must now warn you to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But whatever happen, *do you faithfully honour and obey your Prince, and adhere to the Crown.* I charge you *never to forsake the Crown, though it should hang upon a bush.*" Hume's England, vol. vii. p. 199, edit. 1812.

² Charles (the Prince) had first been under the tuition of the Marquis of Newcastle, afterwards of the Marquis of Hertford; also of Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury. His education, latterly, was at Oxford, of which University the Marquis of Hertford was Chancellor.

³ Berkeley was high in the Prince of Wales's confidence about the time of this "mystery"—for when Goring complained of the proceedings of the Prince's Council, Berkeley was sent, along with Sir Hugh Pollard and Colonel Ashburnham, to hold a private conference with him on the subject.

⁴ Sir Richard Grenville was soon after proposed to command the foot in the Army of the West, when the insubordination of the troops, through the misconduct of Lord Wentworth, rendered some new arrangements absolutely necessary. But Grenville, contrary to expectation, refused to act; and he was therefore sent prisoner to the Castle in Mount's Bay, where he remained until the successes of the Parliament Army in that quarter induced the Prince, lest he should fall into their hands, to permit him to transport himself to the Continent.

are brought to proiection
 98. 71. 44. 24. 36. 66. 87. 50. 20. 347. 301. 16. 40. 10. 50.
 211. 604. 341. Pray god this prove well. Just as I am writing
 the Scots Army is past betweene
 I heare that 280. 353. 592. 427. 207. 4. 102. 50. 20. 110. 50.
 Monmouth & Abergainy
 369. 80. 40. 37. 24. 81. 39. 27. 36. 51. 87. 90. 97. 53. 61. 44.
 177. 41. 94. 31. this inclosed is consarning the commissioners of
 asseise, whoe are soe bond up by the members att Oxford that
 noe thing canbe issued wthout their consent ; if they were but soe
 farr trusted as that, in such case as now we are in, (when we need
 powder and provisions) monys might be issued from thence to such
 uses as shall be most necessary for his Ma^{ties} service in the guari-
 son, I shall be accountable that none shall be desired by me wthout
 there be a great necessity. I pray lett me have a speedy answer,
 w^{ch} will infenety oblige

Your most faithfull frend,

RUPERT.

Bristol 27 of July.

27^o July 1645. Rec. 31. Pr^e Rupert to me.

Prince Rupert to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Sir,

As I told you our resolution in my last by the woman we 369 :
 are ced to quit Bath. The King for designe :
 98. for-138. 347. 308. 437. 499. intends 148. 592. a fine 459.
 you may be sure that I have hand in it, for I have this from others :
 this is alle our news : pray write often to us ; I have receaved but
 one expresse from you, the rest were by messengers of my owne.
 So I rest

Yo^r most faithfull frend,

RUPERT.

Bristoll 29th of July.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Cardife 4 Aug. 1645.

Nicholas, hauing comanded your fellow Secretary¹ to giue you a full accout as well of our proceedings heere, as resolutions; I will nether trouble you nor my selfe with repetitions: only for my selfe I must desyre you to lett euery one know, that no distresse of fortune whatsoeuer shall euer make me (by the grace of God) in any thing receade from those grounds I layed doune to you, who were my Comissioners at Uxbridge; & w^{ch} (I thanke them) the Rebelles haue published in print: & though I could haue wished that paines had beene spaired, yet I will nether deny that those things ar myne, w^{ch} they haue sett out in my name, (only some words heere and there mistaken, & some com'as misplaced, but not much materiall) nor, as a good Protestant, or honnest man, blushe for any of those papers; indeed, as a discreet man, I will not justefy my selfe: & yet I would faine know him, who would be willing that the freedome of all his priuat letters were publiquely seene, as myne haue now beene; howsoeuer, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take their fortunes; it is, concerning the Mungrill Parliament: the trewth is, that Sussex² factiousness, at that tyme, put me somewhat out of patience, w^{ch} made me freely vent my displeasure against those of his party to my Wyfe, & the intention of that phrase was, that his faction did what they could to make it come to that, by their raising and fomenting of basse propositions: this is cleerely euindenced by my following excuse to her for suffring those people to trouble her, the reason being, to eschew those greater inconueniences w^{ch} they had & wer more lykly to cause heere, then there. I am going to supper, so I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

I have reaued (received) your new cyfer as for example, 224 :
my

Lord Digby.

² Thomas Lord Saville, recently created Earl of Sussex.

(erased) in that
302 : 181 : 176 : 276 : 14 : 54 : 11 : 308 : 216 : 17 : 1 :
181 : 72 : 232 : 18 : 35 : 2 : 50 : 151 : 51 : 60 : 316 : 110 :
 comaund w^{ch} you are to use
168 : Husbands 346 : 398 : 316 : 98 : 290 : 295 : 86 : 70 : ac-
 to the nature of the
cording 290 : 277 : 225 : 19 : 43 : 3 : 37 : 80 : 231 : 277 :
thing
280 :

Indorsed, Cardiff 4^o Aug: 1645. R. 10. The King to me concerning the Mungrill P'liam't.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Bridgenorthe, 9 Aug: 1645.

Nicholas, this morning I received yours of the 30: July,
w^{ch} requyres no answer but thanks for your often aduertis-
ments: & particularly for those w^{ch} ar of most freedome,
in answer to w^{ch} I shall desyre you, (with the like freeness) to
Digby's friends make not most
take heed that 358: 51: 376: 53: 210: 229: 17: 50: 220:
of suspicion (erased) for I cannot con
231: 277: 511: against 401: 147: 174: 111: 229: 18: 115:
from you that Digby (erased) 1
ceale: 148: 316: 276: 358: 39: 31: 19: 35: 53: perfectly
and all that are beleevd to be his
453: 96: 94: 276: 98: 104: 202: 83: 290: 104: 170: par-
friends that there is no
ticular 376: 52: & I assure you 276: 277: 1: 36: 60: 181:
dispatch yet come to me from
229: 124: 72: 32: 17: 61: 41: 315: 116: 290: 213: 148:
401: For newes, I refer you to your friends, only I must tell you
Lichfield & soe to New
that to morrow I intend to march to 403: 96: 266: 290: 437:
arke y^e next day; but if y^e Irish be
277: 227: 524: 109: 175: 277: 78: 2: 79: 51: 42: 104:
come then I turne to
116: of w^{ch} I haue good hope 277: 27: 174: shall 17: 43: 3:

¹ These figures are decyphered by Sir Edward Nicholas, but erased with a pen; yet may in part be restored.

Chester

28 : 37 : 290 : 340. My last was from Cardife, w^{ch} was written in such haste that I forgot to bid you send me word (w^{ch} now I earnestly desyre you not to forget to doe) how my printed letters ar, & haue been, sensured at Oxford, by the seuerall sorts of people, according to their dyuerse humors ; this is all at this tyme from

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

In the voide place of your last cyfer at the end of the W^s of the hindermost alfabet I haue filled it, with the word *want* : lykewais the two others at the end of the Y^s with *yesternight* & *yonder*.

9^o Aug: 1645. R. 16^o. The King to me from Bridgenorth.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Doncaster, 18 Aug : 1645.

Nicholas, I haue sent this bearer expressly to giue you a particular account of my present condition, w^{ch} considering what it was at the beginning of this monthe, is now (I thanke God) miraculously good ; and indeed the gentlemen in thease partes shewes themselves really affectionat & harty in my service : acting cheerfully (without any grumbling) what I desyre. Now I expect, not only that (lyke ants) you haue plentifully prouyded your selves for winter, but lykewais that you so recrate your selves in men & armes, that it may be a lusty stocke for a next years army : So I rest,

Your asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

As I haue com'aded my Sone to comend me to all the Laydis, so you must to all the Lords my friends, & particularly to Vulpone, & tell the Gouvernor that he has forgotten that he sent me a cyfer.

Doncaster 18^o Aug. 1645. R. 23. The King to me.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Huntingtoun 25 Aug: 1645.

Nicholas, I haue this morning receaued yours of the 13: Aug: with fower printed Oxford Papers concerning my published Letters, & am glad to fynde that you there make so faire (indeed just, as concerning my religion, kingdomes & frends) an interpretation of them, & particularly that you haue so great a confidence in my constancy to my just cause: and now me thinkes I wer too blame if I did not iustifie the trewth of your opinions concerning me, by my owen declaration, w^{ch} is this, that let my condition be neuer so low, my successes neuer so ill, I resolute (by the grace of God) neuer to yeald up this Church to the gouernement of Papists, Presbiterians, or Independants, nor to injure my successors, by lessning the Crowne of that ecclesiasticall & military power w^{ch} my predecessors left me, nor forsake my frends, much lesse to lett them suffer when I doe not, for their faithfulness to me, resolving sooner to liue as miserable as the violent rage of successfull insulting Rebels can make me (w^{ch} I esteeme far worse than death) rather then not to be exactly constant to these grounds; from w^{ch}, whosoever, upon whatsoever occasion, shall persuade me to receade in the least title, I shall esteeme him either a foole or a knave; but you will aske me, *Quorsum hoc?* Yes, for without this warning, the tender personall affection of some might giue me troublesome aduyce, & yet not blameable, considering the present condition of my affaires, & not knowing this my resolution, w^{ch} I comand you to publishe to all whom their quality or judgement makes fitt for such discourses, & so I rest,

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

You may say confidently, & giue me for author, that the peace of Irland is concluded, not yet knowing the particular conditions.

25 Aug: 1645. The King to me from Huntington, containing his resoluc'on never to quit y^e Church Gouernement, his friends, or to diminishe the Crowne of that military or eccl'all power w^{ch} was left him by his p^edecessors.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.*Ragland¹ 9 Sep. 1645.

Nicholas, I receaved yesterday bothe of your letters (for I perceave by their markes, that you haue yet written no more) with the advertisments from London, w^{ch} as you say is worthy my notice, but without considering make this answer, that the just contrary, concerning the new discouery of my Com'ission in a letter to the two Queenes² about the Irishe Papists, is trew : for indeed that roag Hartogen made such a foolishe proposition, but it was flatly denied by me, & (if my memory much faile me not) my Wyfe tooke occasion upon some clause in my answer, wherby it semed to her (in w^{ch} she was mistaken) as if I thought she had lyke the proposition, to disclaime any parte in it (so far from aprobatation) but only the transmitting of it to me, w^{ch} certainly was not fitt for her to refuse : & this (with many other ansome expressions of her affection to me, euen to the ventring of being thought a Protestant in condemning the Irish proceedings) was, as I belieue, in that letter w^{ch} Tom Elliot deliuered me from her, as I was marching over Broadway Hills the 9 of May last ; for I am sure the most of that letter was concerning the Irish business, & I know the reason why the Rebelles haue not printed it is, because it cleers that point more then any of those betweene vs, w^{ch} are published : That all this is trew, & that the Rebelles haue all this under my Wyfes hand & myne, I comand you to affirme positiuely in my name upon all occasions of this subject : but it is possible that all I mention to be, is not in the letter Tom Elliot brought me (though I am sure most is), but then it is in some other. So you see cleerly the trewth of this business, by w^{ch}, if it be brought to light, (w^{ch} I comand you to endeour, with all possible industry) I must haue honnor ; for where my owen justifies me (w^{ch} I am sure my Wyfe can produce, lett the Rebells doe what they will) I care not what lyers can inuent in this kynde. For what else remains

¹ The King's adventures at this antient Castle are too well known to require illustration.

² Queen Henrietta Maria, and her mother the Queen of France, the widow of Henry IV.

unanswered in your two letters I refer you to your fellow Secretary, & rest

Your most assured friend,

CHARLES R.

R. 24^o Sep^{bris} 1645. His Mat^{ies} let^r to me that y^e Rebels have not printed some l^{rs} of his Mat^{ie} & y^e Queens w^{ch} iustifie their Mat^{ies} in y^e busenes concern^g Ireland.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Bridgenorthe 1 Oct. 1645.

Nicholas, none of your letres haue hitherto miscarried, this day having receaued the 12^f by Wytefoord, & shall at this tyme, more insist upon telling you of my desynes & giuing you directions, then in answers, hauing comanded your fellow Secretary to supply that : first then, (that you may know whither to send to me) I intend my

Newarke

course towards 437 ; where I shall take further resolutions accord-

ing to occasion : Vnderstanding that 224 : 173 : 293 : 83 : 36 : my horse under Lo :

Goring beaten or

3 : 380 : is lykely to be eather 14 : 37 : 32 : 17 : 38 : 27 :

starued where they 242 : 53 : 19 : 32 : 2 : 43 : 36 : 84 : 307 : 277 : 47 : 20 :

are him to breake throughe 98 : I haue com'and 169 : 290 : 14 : 2 : 36 : 33 : 62 : 37 :

to me passe by or neere 60 : 283 : 290 : 213 : now they must 238 : 110 : 232 : 226 :

Oxon ^to

443 : wherfor my plasure is, that you take that oportunity 290 : send D. of Yorke to me

264 : 125 : 231 : 541 : 290 : 213 : for since it is the fashion yeelde townes basely¹

to 314 : 17 : 54 : 68 : 27 : 35 : 52 : 70 : 4 : 33 : 52 : venture my

36 : 207 : none can blame me to 43 : 35 : 27 : 19 : 44 : 3 : children in an army

224 : 59 : 39 : 79 : 4 : 84 : 2 : 36 : 27 : 176 : 95 : 323 :

¹ This evidently refers to the King's displeasure against Prince Rupert for the loss of Bristol.

to be directed to what person shall bee thought fittest for the apprehendinge my Nephew Rupert, in case of such extremitie as shall bee hereafter specifed, and not otherwise. As for the circumstances and the timinge of the execution of all these particulars, as farr forth as they may admitt of some howres delay more or lesse, I must referr it to my Lord Treasurers¹ care and yours to aduise of, vpon the place, how it may be done with most securitye, and accordinglye to direct the manner of proceedinge. But yett I shall tell you my opinion as farr forth as I can judge at this distance, w^{ch} is, that you should beginne with securing the person of Will: Legge, before any thing be declared concerninge my Nephew. But that once done, then the sooner you declare to the Lords both the revokinge of my Nephews commission, and my makinge Sr Thomas Glemham Gouvernour of Oxford, the better. As for the deliuey of my letter to my Nepheu, if hee bee at Oxford, I take the proper time for that to be as soone as possiblye may bee after the securinge of Will: Legge. But if my Nepheu be not there, I would then haue you hasten my letter unto him, and in the meane time putt the rest in execution.

The warrant for my Nephews commitment is onely that you may haue the power to doe it, if in stead of submittinge to, and obeyinge my commaunds in goinge beyond sea, you shall finde that hee practise the raysinge of mutinye or any other disturbance in that place, or any other, in w^{ch} case the sayd warrant for his committment is to bee deliuered unto whome you and my Lord Treasurer shall thinke fittest for it to be directed unto, and by that person to be putt in execution. Lastlye I enjoyne you the care to lett all the Lords know, that whateuer is done in this kinde, is out of my tender regard of their safetye and preservation, and that they shall speedilye receiue for their satisfaction a particular account of the reasons of this necessarye proceedinge. I rest

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

Hereford, Sept: 14th 1645.

Tell my Sone that I shall lesse greeue to heere that he is knoked in the head then that he should doe soe meane an action

¹ Sir John Culpepper.

as is the rendring of Bristoll Castell & Fort¹ upon the termes it was. C.R.

R: 17^o 7^{bris} 1645, by Mr. North. The King to me.

Copie of Pr: RUPERTS &c. Petition deliuered at Newarke.²

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

Whereas in all humility wee came to present our selues this day unto your Ma^{tie}, to make our seuerall greevances knowne, Wee find we haue drawne upon us some misconstruction by the manner of that, by reason your Ma^{tie} thought that appeared as a mutiny, Wee shall therefore with all humblenes and carefulnes present unto your Ma^{tie}, that wee, the persons subscribed, whom from the beginning of this unhappy warre haue giuen such testimony to your Ma^{tie} and the world of our fidelity and zeale to your Ma^{ties} person and cause, doe thinke our selves unhappy to lye under that censure; and as wee know in our consciences our selues innocent and free from that, wee doe in all humility therefore (least wee should hazard our selues upon a second misinterpre-

¹ The King's anger at the surrender of Bristol is not surprising, when it is recollected that Prince Rupert actually possessed 140 pieces of mounted cannon, 100 barrels of powder, with 2500 foot, 1000 horse, and 1000 trained bands and auxiliaries; but then he had not more than sixteen days' provisions for such a force. Indeed the King's feelings at this precise period must have been very bitter; since the immediate and consequent loss of Devizes, Winchester, Basing House, Berkeley Castle, and Chepstowe, reduced his affairs to a situation almost desperate.

² The affair that gave rise to this Petition deserves notice; for the King having at this moment gone to Newark, as a place of the best security, some differences of opinion arose amongst his confidential officers respecting the defeat of Lord Digby at Sherborne, which General Gerard asserted to be the result of treason. Digby's character, however, was supported by Bellasis, the Governor, and several others; but the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, sided with Gerard. At length swords were drawn, and the King rushed in to part them; but when it was found that his opinion was in favour of Digby, Prince Rupert, and 400 of that party, actually threw up their commissions, as Burton declares in his Civil Wars, though this Petition seems to imply positively that their commissions were taken from them.

There appears a strange inconsistency in the accounts given of those affairs by the various contemporary writers of that period. The curious reader will find much amusement in referring to Bulstrode's Memoirs, page 127, et seq.; also to Clarendon, &c. &c.

tation) present these reasons of our humblest desires unto your sacred Ma^{tie}, rather in writing than personallly, which are these :

That many of us trusted in high commands in your Ma^{ties} service, haue not only our com^{mission} taken away without any reason or cause expressed, whereby our honors are blemished to the world, our fortunes ruined, and wee rendred incapable of trust or command from any forraigne Prince ; but many others (as we have cause to feare) designed to suffer in the same manner.

Our intention in our addressing our selues to your Ma^{tie}, and our submissiue desires, now are : that yo^r Ma^{tie} wilbee graciously pleased that such of us as now labour under the opinion of unworthinesse and incapacity to serue your Ma^{tie}, may at a Councell of Warre, receiue knowledge of the cause of your Ma^{ties} displeasure, and haue the justice and libertie of our defence against what can be alleaged against us, and in particular concerning this Government ; and if upon the severest examinac^{on} our integrity and loyaltie to your Ma^{tie} shall appeare, that then your Ma^{tie} be graciously pleased to grant us, either reparation in honour, against the of our ennemys, or libertie to passe into other partes, which are the humblest desires of

Your Ma^{ties}

most obedient and loyall subjects and servants.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Newarke 10 Oct: 1645.

Nicholas,

none of yours haue yet miscarryed, haueing yesternight receaued your 14th letter : before this, I hope Sr Tho: Glemham will be come to you, whom I have com^{anded} to take particular care of purging Oxford of mutinus & disaffected persons ; & least he should not be bould anufe, hauing yet but a verball com^{and}, I thinke fitt now, that you should show him this, under my hand, that my pleasure heerein be dewly executed, whomsoever it may concerne : As for your Ticket of Accommodation, that I may understand it the better (for it yet seemes to me but an insignificant peece) I com^{and} you to send me the two Colonels Fox &

Murray;¹ being possible that it may receaue such illumination, by the illustration of circumstances, as what hitherto seemes but a darke chaos, may breake foorth into a *lactea via*, leading to peace :

Will: Legge no suspicion of but

For what concernes 401 : I haue 229 : 511 : 231 : 109 : 305 :
what Lo: Digby informed

358 : 96 : 316 : 166 : 176 : 147 : 213 : 83 : me, w^{ch} satisfies me

what I have done but not him

as to 305 : 174 : 166 : 122 : 109 : 229 : 17 : belive 169 :

guilty of trickery more

24 : 43 : 78 : 4 : 18 : 79 : 35 : 231 : 521 : before I see 221 :

particular proofs²

467 : 72 : 1 : 54 : 57 : 7 : 51 : Our Northerne newes³ we hope

to be as good as your Westernne, though yet not so fully ratified,

but in confidence thereof I

109 : 176 : 350 : 29 : 58 : 35 : 277 : 2 : 231 : 174 : thinke

fit to advance a daye or

143 : 290 : 87 : 43 : 31 : 27 : 61 : 36 : 10 : 32 : 20 : 118 : 51 :

two's march and if Montrose be in that part

232 : 568 : 212 : 60 : 96 : 175 : 417 : 104 : 176 : 276 : 113 :

as I hope he is there I intend

99 : 174 : 172 : 167 : 181 : 30 : 277 : 28 : and : 174 : 176 :

to joyne wth

19 : 38 : 27 : 85 : 10 : 290 : 179 : 28 : 37 : 30 : 303 : 169 :

So hoping shortly to send you more certanty of our good newes,

& how I shall dispose of my selfe, then yet I can, I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

my wyfe

This inclosed is for 224 : 68 : 47 : 7 : 35.

"For your selfe."

100^{bris} 1645. R: 17. 1645. His Matie to me concerning Coll: Will: Murrey. The 17th of 8^{ber} Col: W. Murrey was sent for by the Lo^{dds}, & his Maties pleasure signified to him to attend y^e King accordingly.

¹ The whole of this affair is curious, and is very little noticed in the history of that time.

² It is a certain fact, of which the King was afterwards well assured, that the insinuations against Legge's loyalty were founded on falsehood.

³ Alluding evidently to the victory gained by Montrose at Kilsythe in Scotland; but the King's hopes were soon after quashed, when Leslie defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Newarke 16 Oct. 1645.

Nicholas,

I haue receaued 17 letters from you, for w^{ch} I hartely thanke you, wee being very much cheered by your frequent dispatches, wherfor I dout not but you will continew in so doeing : I wrote

to you upon Fryday last, wherin there was a letter for ^{my wyfe} 224 : 68 : 49 : 7 : 35 : 30 : 300 : and lykewise in that dispatche (I will not say that all was in myne) you were answerd concerning the Gouvernor of the Deuyses, & all others in his predicament, as lykewais the L: Hatton : so that now I haue but fower particulars to answer :

the Earle of Norwich¹

I begin with 277 : 126 : 231 : 431 : about whome I embrace and thanke you for your motion, & comand you to send him word accordingly ; secondly for Mr. Atturmy,² tell him if the Rebelles neuer did but justice or what they had lawfull power to doe, then his answer good, otherwais it is not worthe a button ; wherfor if he confesse my power, lett him accept my offer, otherwais I shall know what I haue to doe ; as for Rainsford, let the Judges pro-

the Duke of York

ceede : lastly concerning 200 : 277 : 125 : 231 : 541 : 300 : if (as I hope) 380 : haue 156 : 271 : 176 : 277 : 525 : then 276 : 440 : concerning 169 : 302 : 27 : 54 : 17 : 10 : 163 : 72 : 35 : 28 : 20 : 109 : 175 : 380 : 104 : 374 : 83 : 30 : 290 : 250 : 277 : 525 : 96 : 116 : 290 : 213 : 303 : 170 : 173 : in that case it wer a folly in 213 : 290 : 194 : 224 : 266 : 29 : 36 : 40 : 101 : 443 : in the meane tyme 115 : 58 : 37 : 31 : 4 : 38 : 50 : 305 : I haue written in this 293 : 17 : 78 : 5 : 6 : 60 : 279 : 447 : 79 : 18 : 47 : 136 : 236 : as I haue sayed 109 : 277 : 27 : 70 : 83 : 38 : 59 : 6 : 98 : 35 : 90 : 224 : 302 : 167 : 36 : 1 : 176 : first 290 : 412 : 383 : (174 : 177 : 169 : 276 : 540 : 231 : cyfer 211 : 36 : 10 : 213 : 229 : 18 : 20 : 71 : 2 : 48 : 19 : 30 : 279 : 290 : 169 :) 277 : 27 : 40 : 290 : 277 : 50 : 3 : 37 : 51 : 19 : 90 : this is all, so I rest

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

¹ Previously spoken of as General Goring.

² Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

the horse that may be spared
 277 : 173 : 276 : 209 : possibly 104 : 53 : 74 : 34 : 3 : 38 : 84 :
 from Oxon to Banbury on Sunday next directions
 148 : 443 : 290 : 329 : 233 : 554 : 227 : with these 83 : 78 : 2 :
 to the Comander
 36 : 59 : 19 : 79 : 233 : 53 : 290 : 277 : 346 : 36 : 3 :
 in Cheif keepe scouts
 176 : 59 : 39 : 36 : 82 : 7 : 38 : that he 183 : 53 : 59 : 56 :
 to wards Daventry
 44 : 19 : 52 : 290 : 68 : 33 : 2 : 83 : 53 : 70 : 84 : 37 : 43 :
 & Harburrow
 38 : 27 : 17 : 3 : 47 : 90 : 96 : 300 : 39 : 34 : 3 : 14 : 46 : 1 :
 & diligently
 2 : 56 : 46 : 26 : 42 : 200 : 96 : 83 : 79 : 6 : 82 : 24 : 37 :
 hould intelligence with the Gov'nor
 29 : 19 : 207 : 42 : 57 : 43 : 4 : 84 : 391 : 303 : 277 : 379 :
 of Belvoir, of what forces
 232 : 231 : 16 : 36 : 4 : 46 : 57 : 79 : 3 : 231 : 305 : 374 :
 ly in partes my resolution
 53 : 207 : 176 : those 239 : 53 : 224 : 3 : 37 : 266 : 4 :
 to goe that way
 46 : 19 : 180 : being 290 : 24 : 56 : 38 : 276 : 69 : 34 : 47 :
 if wth any reasonable hazard I
 175 : 303 : 97 : 254 : 88 : 70 : 39 : 34 : 2 : 85 : 174 :
 may passe: but if findes I come
 209 : 238 : 109 : 175 : Sr Thom: Glemham¹ 144 : 174 : 116 :
 not to Banbury by Thursday next come senight
 229 : 17 : 290 : 329 : 110 : 551 : 227 : 116 : 263 : 27 :
 then he may draw
 78 : 24 : 42 : 19 : 277 : 29 : 167 : 209 : 83 : 3 : 34 : 69 :
 back the horse
 20 : 16 : 32 : 59 : 64 : 277 : 173 : you must remember that
 secrecy in this particular
 53 : 37 : 58 : 1 : 38 : 61 : 49 : 176 : 279 : 239 : 79 : 59 :
 must be your cheifest
 43 : 4 : 34 : 3 : 215 : 104 : 317 : 59 : 39 : 37 : 78 : 7 :
 care tell the Gouvernor
 38 53 : 19 : 112 : I will only allow you to 274 : 277 : 379 :
 of it who must be discretion
 232 : 231 : 182 : 320 : 215 : 104 : answerable for the 124 : 59 :
 & dilligence
 3 : 38 : 17 : 180 : 96 : 80 : 84 : 78 : 207 : 24 : 38 : 27 :
 of the person that
 58 : 38 : 231 : 277 : 73 : 37 : 3 : 53 : 233 : 276 : 52 : 39 :

¹ Then Governor of Oxford.

disturbed (yours being free) when that easy worke is finished. Loose not this faire oportunity, the like was never offered, nor euer will be ; for itt brings all things of benifitt and aduantage imaginable, both to the generall and to your particular ; to him that was quartered with you, and to his & you freinds : and shall be honestly made good. Trust to me for the performance of itt ; waigh itt sadly, and againe relye upon me. Bee confident, that neither he that carryes this, nor he that deliuers it to you, knowes any thing of itt. (*Not signed.*)

Written at the bottom by the King.

"This is a trew Coppie of what was sent to Sir Hen. Vane the Younger by my comand. C. R." ¹ March 2, 1645-6.

Indorsed,

2^o Martij 1645. By his Ma^{ties} comaund these are to S. H. Vane sign'd wth y^e Kings owne hand.

*Copy of another Letter from the King to Sir Henry
Vane the Younger.*

St,

I shall only add this word to what was said in my last : that you hasten my business all that possibly you cann ; the occasion lately giuen being fairer than euer, and donn on purpose. Be very confident that all things shall be performed according to my promise. By all that is good, I coniure you, to dispatch that curtoysye for me with all speed, or it will be too late, I shall perish before I receiue the fruits of itt. I may not tell you my necessityes, but if it were necessary soe to doe, I am sure you would lay all other considerations aside, and fulfill my desires. This is all : trust me, I will repay your fauour to the full. I have donn. If I haue not an answeare within foure dayes after the receipt of this, I shall be

¹ How little effect was produced by this remonstrance, may be easily imagined, when addressed to a man whom De Larrey characterises as "more rigid, more a Presbyterian, and more a Parliamentary in his sentiments than either Pym, Hampden, St. John, Fiennes, or Hollis !"

necessitated to finde some other expedient. God direct you, I haue discharged my dutye. (*Not signed.*)

Written at the bottom of this letter by the King.

"This is a true Copie of what was sent by Jack Asheburnham & my comand to Sir Henry Vane the younger. C. R."

The King's promise to Mons. de Montreuil concerning those that should come with him to the Scots Army.

I do promise to Mounsieur de Montreull, that none shall come with me to the Scots army, or meet me there, who are excepted by those att London, but only my two nepheues, and Jack Ashburnham.¹ Notwithstanding, the said Montreull is to receaue this my protestation, that all my seruants, and all others who doe adheare to me, shalbe saued from ruine, or any publique dishonour ; which is a condition that my wife writt to me that not only she, but likewise Cardinall Mazarine,² were absolutely of opinion that I was sooner to dye, than not to haue. As for Church Gouvernement, as

¹ The King's confidence in Ashburnham was very great at this crisis. In fact it was a very short time before, that his Majesty was obliged, by the approach of Fairfax, to escape from Oxford in disguise ; and this he did as the servant of Ashburnham : after which he joined the Scottish army before Newark. Yet Ashburnham is suspected, with great appearance of truth, of having misled the King when he was taken prisoner in 1648, either through treachery or folly. Bulstrode in his Memoirs, asserts that when the King arrived in great privacy at the house of Lady Southampton, and that Ashburnham went up stairs to his Majesty's bed-chamber and told the King that Colonel Hammond was below at supper, and had given assurance for his Majesty's safety, but not of liberty for his person, the King instantly, with much emotion, struck his hand upon his breast, exclaiming, "And is this all ! Then I am betrayed !"

² Mazarine had recently become Prime Minister of France, in consequence of the death of Richelieu. The latter bore an implacable malice and hatred to England for her interference respecting the French Protestants, particularly in the affairs of the Isle du Rhe, and Rochelle. It is curious to compare this opinion of Mazarine with the well authenticated fact that, notwithstanding his outward appearance of friendship, he was actually tampering with the Parliament and keeping up a good correspondence with them, through the medium of Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spanish Ambassador !

I haue already, soe I now againe promise, that as soone as I come into the Scotts army, I shall be very willing to be instructed concerning the presbiteriall gouernement : whereupon they shall see, that I shall striue to content them in any thing, that shall not be against my conscience.

CHARLES R.

Indorsed by Sir Edward Nicholas.

"The King's promise to Monsieur de Montreuil¹ concerning those that should come wth him to y^e Scots army : w^{ch} promise was written by Mr. Jo: Ashbournham, and signed by the King ; but w^{thout} date."

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

New Castle 16 Maij 1646.

Nicholas, since my last I had neither sufficient tyme nor matter to write to you, but now I haue enough of either, yet I shall to ease both our paynes, contract my thoughts, meerely to what is (for the present) necessary for you att Oxford.² ffor directions then, know that you are not to expect releefe, so that I giue you leaue to treate for good condic'ons. Let those of Exeter be your example : the additions must be the taking care particularly of the University, and to trye if you can gett the Duke of Yorke to be sent hither to me, as alsoe all myseruaunts who wilbe willing to come

¹ Montreuil, or Montreville, seems in this affair to have been the tool of Mazarine in deceiving the King ; for all the contemporary writers, Warwick, Bulstrode, &c. assert, that he promised, in the name of the King of France, that Charles should be secure under the protection of the Scottish army.

² Oxford was at this moment nearly reduced ; so that Sir Thomas Glemham, the Governor, in answer to a summons, asked permission to send a messenger to the King for orders. This, however, was refused by Fairfax, as several historians declare, and the City was delivered up, but not until after a treaty of some weeks' continuance, as the City did not surrender until this 24th of June. The facts contained in the indorsements possess considerable interest for the future historian.

When this letter was written the King was with the Scottish army, who had retreated thus far after the surrender of Newark to the Parliament army.

In "Memoirs of the Two last Years of Charles the First," by Herbert, there is an allusion to the King's consent, through the Lords of the Privy Council then at Oxford.

(of w^{ch} number I am sure you are one) but feare you will not get leaue, and those goods w^{ch} I haue there.

These directions I would haue you keepe very secreat, that you may make better conditions : ffor the number and choyce, I leave to the Lordes discre'ons (the gouernor being one), but you must give out that releefe will come. Jack Ashburnham is this day gonne for ffraunce. I haue no more to say, so I rest

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

Indorsed,

“ 16^o Maij 1646. R. 10^o Junii & y^e next day read to y^e Lo^{ds}.

The King to me from New Castle giving leave to treat, &c.

This l^r & that of y^e 2^d of June were read to all y^e Lo^{ds} and gent. about this towne (Oxford) on Sunday y^e 20th of June 1646.”

This letter was written in cyfer, but the figures are for the most part blotted or run through with the pen, but are decyphered and filled up by Sir Edward Nicholas.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

New Castell 2 June 1646.

Nicholas, since I saw you, I receaued but one letter from you, w^{ch} was of the 5th of May ; & this is but the 3rd that I haue written unto you, hauing sent a duplicatt of my last about 9 dayes agoe. For direc'cons, I shall in substance repeate what I last sent you, w^{ch} is that, because you are to expect noe releef, I giue you leaue to treat for good condic'ons. Let those of Exeter be your guide, w^{ch} I beliuie wilbe graunted you, hauing a particular care that my sonne and two nephues haue permission to com to me wheresoeuer I shalbe : as lykewais that the freedome of y^e University be pre-served, & that all my seruants, who ar willing, may come to me with the few goods that I haue there. I omitt news att this tyme, because it will doe little good to you, & troble me ; soe comanding you to assure all my frends, that no change of place shall (make) me alter my affection to them ; I rest

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

I advise excepted persons to agree for Exeter conditions, & for noe better.

When my goods ar sent, forget not all the bookes w^{ch} I left in my bedchamber.

Indorsed,

2^o Junii 1646. R: 11^o, read to y^e L^{des} y^e next day. The King gives leave to treat.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

New Castell 24 June 1646.

Nicholas,

I haue receaued yours of the 6: & 9: of this monthe w^{ch} requyres no other answer but thanke you for your intelligence & to comend you for your resolution ; only I thinke you needed not to burne my cypher ; but howsoeuer lett me heare from you as often as you can, & asseure all my frends that I am constant to all them who will not forsake themselves, of w^{ch} I know you ar none, so that I am

Your most asseured constant frend,

CHARLES R.

I desire

In hope my cypher is not sacrificed 209 : 141 : 56 : 63 : 17 :
 you to send me word where my
 67 : 429 : 360 : 341 : 250 : 78 : 31 : 18 : 81 : 412 : 351 :
 Jewells were w^{ch} I. H. had, and if my
 in : no : 418 : 56 : 111 : 413 : 449 : 197 : 112 : 213 : 251 :
 Cabinet¹ w^{ch} I left wth you
 90 : or 27 : 40 : 7 : 67 : p : 413 : 209 : 234 : 409 : 429 :
 be burned or not.
 121 : at : ad : 19 : if : 147 : 281 : 270 :

24^o Junii 1646. The K. to me.

¹ The King's anxiety about his Cabinet is not surprizing, if we recollect the very unhandsome use which had formerly been made of letters seized by the Parliamentary forces ; when even the common expressions of conjugal confidence and tenderness were tortured into political crimes, or made the jests of the lowest revolutionary ruffians.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

New Castell 16 Aug:

Nicholas, I receaved yours by the last post, whereby I understand what course you intend to take, w^{ch} I approue of, yet I

thinke it not necessay [necessary] to write to Marq: H.
 nor Earl of Southamton for
 269 : 17 : 503 : 280 : 356 : 84 : 107 : 43 : 282 : 162 :
 hauing [erased]

200 : 216 : 258 : 133 : 280 : 366 : selves there 365 : 280 :
 251 : 84 : 282 : 7 : 281 : 122 : 431 : 216 : 383 : 251 : 56 :
 67 : 46 : 75 : 70 : 59 : 112 : 57 : 78 : 281 : 81 : 360 :
 361 : 319 : 27 : 148 : 58 :

Com'end me to all my Friends, & assure them of my constancy; and I assure you that I haue sent where you ar goeing, being confident that you will be very well receaved there, so I rest

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

This inclosed is for 14 : 47 : he : 68 : 21 : 35 : 6 :

16^o Aug. 1646. The King to me.¹*In the hand-writing of Sir Edward Nicholas.*

The Reasons why his Ma^{tie} thought good to send his Proposition of y^e . . . of December, 1645, to London, were, for that

His Ma^{tie} hath noe Army att all, nor any forces but what are in his garrisons.

Noe meanes or monny either to satisfy or keepe together his officers, or to supply or pay his garrisons, but the contribuc'ons of the country, w^{ch} being wasted by y^e souldiors of both sides, & extremly disaffected, are reddy every day to rise ag^t his Ma^{ties} garrisons, as being not able any longer to undergoe the heavy pres-

¹ This part of the correspondence is important, as it took place about the period when the Scottish army were engaged in the negociations for his delivery to the English Rebels. In a Glasgow publication of *Original Letters* (1766) there is one from a Scottish Commissioner, who observes, "many of the King's greatest friends think his obstinacy judicial, as if in God's justice he were destroying himself." This letter was written on the 7th of August, 1646, at the period when Charles refused to agree to the Scottish propositions.

suress w^{ch} y^e necessitys of his Ma^{ties} souldiors & y^e absence of his Ma^{ties} Governm^t dayly put upon them.

That his Ma^{tie} having lost Bristoll, hath no meanes to be supplied from forraigne partes wth armes or munition, or materials for making of either, of w^{ch} he begins alreddy to be in want.

There is noe meanes to raise any considerable forces for an army ag^t y^e next Spring : for that all Wales was lost p^esently after y^e losse of Bristoll, and since that, Munmouth & Hereford.

Chester is in imminent danger to be likewise lost : Newark & Belvoir Castle¹ are besieged & in danger.

In y^e west there are about 5 or 6000 horse & foote, but there are there soe great divisions amongst the cheif officers, and the Councell that attend y^e Prince, as for want of condvct these forces are disunited, and y^e country soe disaffected to them by reason of the soldiors rapine and oppression, as y^e country rises against them whensoever they come into any place not in a body, and the country is soe wasted, as it cannot feede them when they lye together in a body. Besides, the Cornishe will not be drawne further than Devonsh^e.

Exeter is soe close besieged, as very little or noe p^visions can passe into it, & it is not supplied for many monthes.² is possessed by S^r Tho. ffairfax forces, & the King hath in Devon now noe poste but Dartmouth, & there are likewise forces marched thither to blocke it upp.

The Seige of Plymouth is soe weekly prosecuted for want of force as they have lately releued themselves and burnt some of our quarter neere it.

¹ The Earl of Rutland had sided with the Parliament, but Belvoir was garri-
soned by the King's forces.

² It has been said by contemporary writers that the King, being now in dis-
tress, had no hopes from a proposition to Parliament, but merely complied with
the earnest entreaties of his confidential friends. The message, which he sent,
was filled with tender expressions respecting the miseries of the nation, of
which it manifested a very deep sense, in consequence of the existing civil dis-
tractions. It conjured the Parliament, as they would answer it to Almighty
God, for all blood spilt, or yet to be shed, and as they tendred the preservation
of their religion calling upon them also by all the bonds of duty and allegiance
to their King, of compassion for their bleeding country, or charity to them-
selves, that they would dispose their hearts and judgments towards a just and
speedy settlement of affairs ; but it answered no other purpose than to draw
forth demands even more imperious than those during the Treaty of Uxbridge.

S^r Tho. Fairfax & Crumwell haue lately sent into these p^{tes} neere 1500 of their best horse, w^{ch} shewes that they are much too strong for his Ma^{ties} forces in those partes.

These Western horse are drawing towards Oxon & are to ioine wth other forces w^{ch} are to come from London under Coll: Ringing-borrow, & all that can be spared from Coventry, Warwick, Gloucester, & Northampton, & out of Buckinghamshire (w^{ch} it is beleueed will in all make noe less than 8000 foote and 4000 horse & dragoons) & ar designd p^{es}ently to block upp Oxon att a distance.

Denington Castle is blockt upp by forces that lye in Newberry & the Country thereabouts.

This being his Ma^{ties} p^{es}ent condition in England, & there being noe peace concluded in Ireland, nor any considerable forces possibly to be drawne from that Kingdom in any tyme to assist his Ma^{ties}:

The Mar: of Muntrosse being still in y^e highlands, or noe neerer then Glascoe, & in what condition his Ma^{ties} is not certeynly assured, soe as there is little hope of tymely ayde from him :

From Fra. or Holland there was nothing but faire & fruitless p^rmisses, they having not in all this tyme afforded his Ma^{ties} any considerable assistance, nor soe much as publickly declared ag^t those att London :

Upon these considerations his Ma^{ties} resolved to send to London y^e . . . P^rpositions, w^{ch} being as low as he can goe wth p^{es}erving of his conscience and hon^r he doubts not but God will give a blessing to y^t his intentions ; And that if his s^{bts} doe not harken to y^e reason he offers, his Allies will consider how farre his interest may worke theirs.

Indorsed, Reasons why his Ma^{ties} sent his Proposic^{ions} to London, dated Dec^r 1646.

The King to the Speaker of the House of Peers.

Holmby [Holdenby], 6 Martij. 1646-7.

C. R.

It being now 17 dayes since I wrote to you from hence, & not yet receiuing any answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you ; and indeed concerning any thing but the necessary duty of a Christian, I would not at this time

trouble you with any of my desires. But my being attended by some of my Chaplains,¹ whom I esteem & reuerence, is that w^{ch} is so necessary for me (euen considering my present condic'on, whither it be in relation to my conscience, or a happy settlem^t of the present distracc'ons in Religion) that I will slight diuers kinds of censures, rather then not obtain what I demand. Nor shall I doe you the wrong, as in this to doubt the obtaining of my wish, it being groundd upon reason. For I desire you to consider (not thinking it needfull to menc'on) the diuers reasons w^{ch} no Christian can be ignorant of, for the point of conscience. I must assure you that I cannot as I ought take into consideration those alterac'ons in Religion w^{ch} haue, & wilbe offred unto me, wthout such helps as I desire, because I can neuer iudge rightly of, or be altered in any thing of my opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denyed me. But when this is granted me, I promise you faithfully not to striue for victory in argum^t, but to seeke to submit to truth, according to that judgem^t w^{ch} God hath giuen me ; always holding it my best & greatest conquest, to giue contentm^t to my two Houses of Parl^t in all things w^{ch} I conceiue not to be against my conscience or hon^r. Not doubting likewise, but that you wilbe ready to satisfy me in reasonable things, as I hope to find in this particular concerning the attendance of my Chaplains upon me.

To the Speaker² of the House of Peers, *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the Lo: & Co'mons in the Parl^t assembled at Westm^r.

Indorsed,

6^o Mar: 1641. Coppy of y^e King's 2d lt^r for some of his Chaplaines.

¹ The sentiments contained in this letter are so completely in unison with those in "Eikon Basilike" (art. 23, 24, pp. 201 to 218, edit. 1648), as to afford proof, if proof were necessary, of the authenticity of that work from the royal pen.

The letter itself was written about two months after the King had been given up to the Parliament, and about three months previous to his seizure by Cornet Joyce, on the part of Cromwell and the army.

A very minute and interesting account of these transactions will be found in Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs of the "Two last years" of the unhappy monarch.

There is a remarkable passage, alluding to those circumstances, in a letter from the Earl of Panmure to Lord Wariston, dated 23d January 1647 ; where he says, " His Majesty is so well resolved now for his going to Holmby as ever I saw him for anything. He thinks that the Scots have sold him at too cheap a rate. If our posterity find not the smart thereof, it is well."

² Lenthall,

*A Memorandum in King Charles the First's own
handwriting :*

Freedome in Conscience & Honnor and Security for all those that shall come with me, & in case I shall not agree with them, that I may be set doune at such of my Garisons as I shall name to them : w^{ch} condition I hope not to put them to, for I shall not differ with them about Ecclesiasticall businesses, w^{ch} they shall make apeare to me not to be against my conscience ; & for other matters, I expect no difference, & in case there be, I am content to be judged by the two Queenes. And befor I take my jurny I must send to the Marquis of Montrose to aduertice him upon what conditions I come to the Scots Army, that he may be admitted forthwith into our conjunction, & instantly march up to us.

Indorsed by Sir E. Nicholas.

“ A Note written with y^e King's owne pen concerning his going to y^e Scots.”

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Oatlands, 19 Aug. 1647.²

Nicholas, to ease my paines, I haue comanded Oudart³ to answer some particulars in your last letter : this being only to thanke you for your aduertisements & freedome : desyryng you still to continue the same, asseuring you that I haue a particular care of you, w^{ch} I hope shortly shall be visible to all the world : so I rest

Your most asseured constant frend,

CHARLES R.

Oatlands ⁹/₁₉ Aug. 1646.

His Ma^{ties} ltr to me.

¹ This memorandum throws considerable light upon what may well be considered as the obscurest part of Charles's history during the Civil War.

² It was on the 3d of June that the King was seized by Joyce, and after a desultory progress arrived at Oatlands on the 14th of August ; and soon after he removed to Hampton Court.

³ Oudart was afterwards one of the King's Commissioners in the Conferences at Newport with the Parliamentary agents. In such confidence was he with the King as to be employed during that treaty in writing his private dispatches to the Prince of Wales. Vide Warwick's Memoirs, p. 325.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas,

Yo^r fidelity & industry in our service & eminent affecc'ons to our person, haue made in us too great an impression to be forgotten ; on the contrary you must continue in this confidence, that we very highly retaine you in our value & remembrance, as you will finde if it please God to restore us to a condic'on for it. As an earnest whereof at present you will receive herewith a direction to our dearest Sonn the Prince on your behalfe, whom as we know you will serue with the same duety and zeale as you haue serued us, so will he assuredly giue you that reception & admission to his confidence w^{ch} you haue had with us. We thanck you for yo^r severall letters & aduises, and are very tenderly sensible of yo^r pressures, and if you could gett them removed by the help of friends, we thinck you would do well not to neglect so doing in respect of yo^r family, there being no certainty yet what successe will follow this Treaty. That Providence w^{ch} permits these afflictions to lye upon Us, We trust will yet in good time take them off. Doe you continue yo^r affections towards Us, not doubting of the constant fauor to you & yo^{rs} of

Your most asseured Frend,

CHARLES R.

From Newport in y^e Isle of Wight 24 Novemb: 1648.¹

To Secr: Nich'as.

*His Ma^{ties} Farewell Speech unto y^e Lords Com'ssioners
at Newport in y^e Isle of Wight.²*

"My Lords,

You are come to take your leaue of mee, and I beleeeue wee shall scarce euer see each other againe :—but Gods will be done.

¹ The several historical facts, to which this letter refers, are too well known to require commentary ; but the letter itself is of consequence to Sir Edward Nicholas's claim on the patronage of Charles II. alluded to in a subsequent letter to the Monarch respecting the office of Secretary ; and illustrates the political character of that Monarch.

² The Commissioners were the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salis-

I thank God I haue made my peace wth him, & shall wthout feare undergoe what he shall please to suffer men to doe unto mee.

My Lords, you cannot but knowe that in my fall and ruine you see yo^r owne, and that alsoe neere to you. I pray God send you better frends then I haue found.

I am fully informed of y^e whole carriage of y^e plott against me & myne, and nothing soe much afflicts mee as the sense and feelinge I haue of y^e sufferings of my subjects, and y^e mischief that hangs ouer my three Kingdomes, drawne upon them by those who (upon pretences of good) violently pursue their owne interestes and ends.”

These words his Ma^{tie} deliuered wth much alacrity and cheerefullnes, wth a serene countenance, & carriage free from all disturbance.

Thus he parted wth y^e Lords leauing many tender impressions (if not in them) yet in y^e other hearers.¹

His Ma^{ties} farewell Speech to the Lo^{des} at Newport 1^o Dec. 1648.

Sir,

Paris,² Nov. 6, 1649. St. No.

To giue you an account of the vastnesse of this packett, giue me leaue to tell you, that together with this booke w^{ch} I send you, there

bury, and Middlesex ; Viscount Say and Sele ; Lord Wenman ; Messrs. Pierpoint, Hollis, Crew, Bulkeley ; Sirs Henry Vane, jun., Harbottle Grimstone, and John Potts ; Serjeants Glynne and Browne, and some others.

¹ This conference took place almost immediately before the King's being put to death, an event so pointedly referred to in a work recently published in the United States, that an extract from it cannot fail to be interesting. The author, the Reverend Doctor Stiles, President of Yale College, in his *History of Three of the Judges of Charles II.* first published in 1794, remarks, in allusion also to the French Revolution—“The era is now arrived, when tribunals for the trial of delinquent Majesty, of Kings and Sovereign Rulers, will be provided for, in the future politics and constitutions of Sovereignties, Empires, and *Republics*: when the heroic and high example of doing justice to criminal royalty, of the adjudication of a King, will be recurred to and contemplated with justice and impartiality. And, however it has been overwhelmed with infamy for a century and a half, will hereafter be approved, admired, and imitated ; and the memoirs of those suffering exiles will be immortalized with honour.”—Dr. Stiles was not half so good a conjurer as old Grebner !

² Charles, at the period of his father's murder, was at the Hague with his brother in law, the Prince of Orange ; after which he went to France to join his

came in half a score persons of consideration, who with very much passion desired me to represent to Jersey, the high indignity by this base edition¹ offered to our blessed Master, and the great injury rendered to his Majesty that now is.

You will finde a preface to this Booke, w^{ch} tends to proue that our blessed Master might be, nay perhaps was, a Papist in his heart, notwithstanding this Booke. That what instructions & com'ands were giuen to his Sonne for his firmenesse to the Protestant religion, were giuen out of politique considerations meereley, and many other particulars, w^{ch} I hope will bring it to the hands of the common-hangman.

This Marsys is one who is setting out the tryall of the late King, and y^e manner of his murther, stiles himselfe "Interprete et Maistre pour la langue Françoisse du Roy d'Angleterre regnant à present et de son Altesse Royale le Duc d'Yorke son frere," in w^{ch} Booke he stiles Queene Elizabeth (of euer blessed memory) Jezabell. He settts downe a false and faigned speech of the King's at y^e time of his being murthered; & being charged with it, he said he thought fitt to make that speech as spoken by him, since the speech he did make was poore and below a King. He hath sett forth diuers other things, an extract whereof I shall shortly send you, the least of w^{ch} would deserve a whipping in England in good times to speake

afflicted mother; but having been proclaimed King throughout Ireland, with the exception of Dublin and Londonderry, he would have proceeded there, had he not been forewarned that such a procedure would produce much alarm among the Protestant friends to his cause. He therefore went no farther than Jersey, where he was proclaimed King, a short time previous to the date of this Remonstrance.

¹ If it were necessary to enter upon the controversy respecting the authenticity of "Eikon Basilike," this letter might be adduced as a proof against Bishop Gauden's claim to that work. The wish here expressed was not fulfilled specifically; though afterwards in some measure gratified by the publication of "Eikon Aklastos" in 1651, as a vindication of the original work against the attacks of "Eikonoklastes."

This letter was written by Sir Edward Nicholas during his retreat from England, after the death of his royal master. He appears to have then been resident with his son in law, Sir Richard Browne, who still remained Chargé d'Affaires at the French Court.

The inquisitive reader will find some interest in comparing this letter with the very copious and impartial essay on this subject by Mr. Nichols, in "Literary Anecdotes," vol. i. p. 522.

moderately. I p^esume you will giue this busines a thorough sifting there in councell, and send some directions to S^r Rich: Browne how to proceede here ; that it may appeare who sett him on worke here, and who giues him these exact coppies, w^{ch} he pretends to haue under y^e King's owne hand, and those other peeces of the King's, w^{ch} he so braggs of, and promises he will bring them to light, so soone as he obtaines leaue to publish them. I hope some course wilbe taken that he may be discharged of his titles of relation to the King, and that his Ma^{ty} will hereupon giue order, that a true copy may be printed in french of his Father's Booke, declared by him to be authentique, waving both the editions either of Huguenot or Papist, and that this command be grounded upon the ill editions of both these persons and partys.

Indorsed, " 6^o Novemb: 1649. Concerning Marseis his translac'on of the King's booke."

Sir Edward Nicholas to King Charles the Second.

May it please yo^r Ma^{tie},¹

I come to yo^r Ma^{tie} out of duty to serve you if I could, not out of designe to gaine preferment, & thoughe I understood well, that yo^r Ma^{ties} Privy Councell here was neither of number or weight equall to y^e importaunce of yo^r Ma^{ties} affaires, yet yo^r Ma^{tie} being then resolved to goe for Irland (where I conceived there would be an addition of Councillors answeareable to y^e weight of yo^r aff^{res}) I did y^e more willingly tender my humble services here.

But since its not now counsellable for yo^r Ma^{tie} upon y^r change of yo^r busines in Irla: to goe thither, I held it my duty humbly to advise you, that I find yo^r affa^{res} of soe great importaunce, & of such a nature, as (in my poore iudgem^t) it will not be possible for you to man'age y^e same wthout a steddy, settled, & more full Councell of able, graue & experienced p'sons of unblemished integrity, whose honor, esteeme, fidellity, & prudence may raise y^e reputac'on of yo^r Councell from that greate contempt it lyes under both at home and abroad; & whereby forraigne Pr^{ces} may be encou-

D. Richmond
Ea: Arundell
Ea: Derby
Ea: Norwich
E. South'ton
Sir Art. Hop-
ton.
Mr. Cha: Exch.
L'd Hatton.

Written by Sir Edward Nicholas, and alluded to in a former note.

raged to assist yo^r Ma^{tie}, & yo^r Royall party in Engl: to appeare more vigorously for you.

If for want of such a settled & ho^{lee} Privy Councell, yo^r Ma^{tie} shalbe necessitated (as lately) to call (upon every important occasion) such to Councell who are not sworne, it will not much satisfy yo^r party in Engla: nor advantage yo^r aff^{res}. Besides yo^r Privy Councell wilbe att a great disadvantage, when they are to give their advise upon oath, & are by y^e same obliged to be secreat, & y^e others shalbe att liberty & under noe tye att all.

My humble advise therefore is, that yo^r Ma^{tie} forthwth endeavour by all meanes possible to get a Councell composed of a convenient number of such ho^{ble}, experienced, & faithfull p[']sons, as may be equall to y^e great importaunce of yo^r p[']sent aff^{res}, & above y^e contempt that yo^r now Councell lyes under, aswell in yo^r owne Court, as abroad, wthout w^{ch} it will not be possible for you to goe throughe yo^r greate businesses.

As for my owne particular,¹

I humbly beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to give me leave to put you in minde, that att St Germaines y^r Ma^{tie} comaunded me to wayte on you in this place, where you were pleased to tell me you should have occasion to make use of my service as Secre[']ie, & to that end yo^r Ma^{tie} comaunded me to gett prepared a signet, and other provisions fitting, w^{ch} accordingly I p[']vided att my owne cost. I was there further tould from yo^r Ma^{tie}, that when I came to Jersey, I should be sworne Sec[']rie. And since I came hither, yo^r Ma^{tie} tould me I should be sworne, as soon as I came into Irla: Now since yo^r Ma^{tie} goes not for Irla: I humbly desire that I may be sworne before yo^r Ma^{ties} dep[']ture from hence :

1. Because, I know y^e busines belonging to a Sec[']rie of State ought not to be p[']formed by one that is not sworne in y^e place.

¹ De Larrey, a French historian of those times, says of Sir Edward Nicholas, that he had much better qualities and more zeal for the late Monarch, than the preceding Secretary of State, Windebank. He adds, that he was truly devoted to the Church of England ; and having, besides, as much integrity as ability, he was as faithful to the son as to the father. "Charles II. recompensed his fidelity, and restored him, in 1658, to the post that his father had given him ; if this employment was honourable to him, all the profit redounded to the King, who conferred it on him not till he left France, and when he was a wanderer from Court to Court, and from country to country." But this was precisely agreeable to the Royal promise ; as appears from Charles's reply.

2. For that y^e busines I shall doe (not being sworne), will not have that credit & esteeme, as is requisitt for y^e advantage of affaires of that nature.

3. That it wilbe a great disrepute for me (who have had the honor to serve yo^r Royale father 7 yeares in that office) to execute any considerable p'te thereof, & not be established in it by oath, w^{ch} only can make a man capable of p'formance of the duty of that place, as it ought to be.

Yo^r Ma^{ties} objection, that if you sweare me, you must doe y^e like for Mr. Long,¹ is rather a discouragement then satisfac'on to me, who did hope my soe long faithfull service to yo^r Royall father would have mov'd yo^r Ma^{tie} to make more difference betweene us, since I have hitherto (I thanke God) carryed a cleere reputac'on in all my wayes.

Wherefore its my most humble suyte, that yo^r Ma^{tie} wilbe pleased either to give order that I may be sworne yo^r Ma^{ties} Sec'rie (whereby I may be enabled to doe you service), or else that I may have leave wth yo^r Ma^{ties} gracious favour, to retire untill my faithfull & disinterested service may be of more use in yo^r Ma^{ties} affaires.

“For yo^r Ma^{tie}.”

Indorsed, “Je lis ce papier au Roy a Jersey 31 de Janvier. St. V^x 1649.”

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Charles R.

In regard of our many great & weighty businesses, Wee are resolved & promise wth all convenient speede to increase the number of Our English Privy Councillors in a considerable proporcion answerable to y^e importaunce of our affaires.

¹ Mr. Long was only engaged by Charles in a private capacity, and during the interregnum; his name is not entered upon any of the lists of office.

The King seems to have had a personal attachment towards Mr. Long. It is, perhaps, not irrelevant also to observe, that if the handwriting of the two rival Secretaries had been allowed any weight in the discussion of the question, Mr. Long would have been a successful opponent of Sir Edward; his mode of writing being nearly equal to copper-plate printing, whilst that of the latter is often scarcely intelligible.

Wee are alsoe resolved principally to make use of & rely on, the faithfull advise of our sworne Privy Councill in y^e managem^t and determinac'on of our important affaires.

Wee likewise resolve & promise, to sweare and establishe S^r Edw: Nicholas in y^e office and place of one of our principall Secritaries of State, the first man Wee admit to or constitute in that office, and as soone as Wee shall dismissee Rob^t Long from our service. Given at our Court att Castle Elizabeth in our Island of Jersey the 14-24th of ffebr: 1649-50.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

St. Johnstons: Sept. 3, 1650.¹

Mr. Secr: Nicholas, I haue giuen this bearer his dispatch, and haue signed all the Commissions, with 53 blankes w^{ch} I desire you to fill up as you shall haue occasion, there are two com'issions for Marq: Hertford

445 : 388 : that if one should miscarey the other might serue. I haue sent you here inclosed a letter of credance to the Prince of Orange,² that if you should haue occasion of his assistance you may use it ; but pray have a care that you doe not press him about money, for I haue had so much from him allready that it were a shame to seeke more of him. This bearer will acquaint you with my condition much better than I can doe in a letter, I shall only say this to you, that you cannot imaieⁿ ^{the vilaney of the} 245 x3 : 160 : m8 : 8 :
(illegible) & ^{their} party
191 : w5 : 175 : m9 : t6 : p : 64 : 49 : v6 : 104 : 47 : 213 : 7 :
indeed it has done me a greate deale of good, for nothing could

¹ Written during Charles's visit to Scotland, when he was crowned King. It was on this day that the Scots were defeated at Dunbar. Charles went to Scotland in June ; and towards the latter end of July Cromwell took the command of the English Army in that Kingdom.

Charles sailed from Scheveling in Holland, in the preceding June, and landed at Spey, in Scotland, soon after. On the 15th of July he was proclaimed at Edinburgh Cross ; and afterwards proceeded to St. Johnstone's, which place had been appointed for the meeting of the Scottish States.

² Father of William the Third.

have confirmed me more to the
 138 : 81 : 109 : 14 : 12 : 2 : 170 : 13 : 220 : 242 : 245 :
 Church of England here
 bb : 254 : 73 : n8 : 349 : 153 : then being x9 : 26 : 139 :
 seing theire hippocrisy¹
 69 : t3 : 151 : w5 : s3 : c4 : 20 : q6 : 75 : h : 8 : v2 :
 the D: of Yorke's Lo: Gerard's
 I shall send 245 : 575 comission and 374 : 49 : by Oudart,
 who I will dispatch within this 2 or 3 days. I had allmost forgot a
 bussines of great importance, it is to speke to the Pr: of Orange to
 send hether 218 : 30 : 4 : 169 : 44 : 38 : n7 : 12 : e8 : gg :
 buss wth five or six men to lie here
 w : 5 : 262 : 111 : x2 : 190 : 229 : 39 : 19 : w2 : k4 : 33 : f5 :
 pre to n di n g it is to carrey
 r4 : 240 : 25 : yy : 45 : 34 : 145 : g5 : 242 : 80 : s3 : 7 :
 ouer a messenger when there
 p7 : 64 : 30 : 170 : 228 : 45 : d4 : 14 : x7 : aq : w5 : 220 :
 is occasion
 147 : 477 : I being at the charge of keeping them when they
 I would have the vessel
 are here. 141 : z3 : 138 : 245 : r8 : x2 : 4 : 228 : 24 : 44 :
 come to Montrose
 nn : 47 : w2 : 171 : m6 : 222 : t3 : 320 :² I would haue you
 and Mr. Attorney to stay in holland as being the place that is the
 neerest to this Kingdome and where I shall haue occasion of your
 services : I have no more to say to you at the present but to assure
 that I am and euer will be

Your most affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

¹ This is a new fact for the Writers of Scottish History. The report also that Charles was forced to perform public Kirk-penance by the Presbyterians, is mentioned in a ludicrous manner in a Letter from the Elector of Bavaria to the Queen of Bohemia, preserved in Bromley's Royal Letters, page 153.

² This plan is a manifest proof of the little reliance which Charles placed upon his Northern friends. Whether he doubted their power or their loyal y does not exactly appear ; but it is evident that he wished to ensure the means of escape, independent of their exertions in his favour. The whole Letter is a good commentary upon the histories of that period.

The King to Mrs. Twisden.

Taken from a Copy.

M^{rs} Twisden,

Hauing assurance of your readines to performe what I desired of you by my Letter of the 7th of February from Jersey, according to your Brothers promise, in order to the conveying to me the George and Seales left me by my blessed Father, I haue againe imployed this bearer (in whom I haue very much confidence) to desire you to deliver the said George and Seales into his hand for me, assuring you, that as I shall haue great reason thereby to acknowledge your owne and your Brothers civilitys and good affections, in a particular soe deerly valued by me, soe I will not be wanting, when by Gods blessing I shall be enabled, deseruedly to recompence you both for soe acceptable a service done to

Your louing friend,

CHARLES R.

St. Johnston, 2 8^{ber} 1650.

The King to Mr. William Hinton.

Taken from a Copy.

Mr. William Hinton,¹

Your many faithfull services done to my deere Father of blessed memory and to my selfe, & the constant continuance in your loyall affections to my just cause, are soe very remarkable, as I shalbe euer mindfull to acknowledge them, and to gratify and reward you for them. The condition of my affaires requiring that a considerable sum'e of money be speedily sent into Holland, I doe at present desire you by such private meanes as you shall conceiue most safe, to conueye or returne thither by bills of exchange for my use, such sumes of money, as either you haue or

¹ This Letter confirms the suspicion, hinted at in the preceding note, that Charles was more anxious for a safe escape to the Continent, than sanguine of success from the state of affairs in Scotland.

shalbe able to procure by loane, or otherwise, of my well affected subjects, towards my supply : and as I doubt not you will comply with all readines & industry with this my desire, soe I will that you assure all those who shall contribute to y^e support of my occasions, y^t I shall willingly repay them, when God shall enable me, and also further recompence them to their content : and will particularly consider you for the paines you shall imploy herein as a service very acceptable to

Your louing friend,

CHARLES R.

St. Johnstons, 2. 8^{ber} 1650.

The King to Sir John Greenville.

Taken from a Copy.

S^r John Greenville,¹ considering how important it would be for the good of my affaires to haue a body of men in a readines to countenance any attempt that shall be made by my good subjects in the West,² for recovering my just rights, their owne libertys, and suppressing the present barbarous and bloody Vsurpers, especially in a place soe neere and opportune for the seconding any such enterprize as that under your charge ; I haue thought good to desire and require you, to gather & entertaine as many souldiers, and to prouide what store of armes & munition you can possibly, and as may consist with the necessary subsistence of y^e garrison under your com'and, to be ready to be seasonably transported on any good occasion : In w^{ch} busines soe highly conducing to the good of my seruice, as I am very confident your particular relation and affection to my person and interests will prompt you to imploy your utmost industry and assistance, soe you may rest assured,

¹ He was afterwards Earl of Bath.

² This Letter was written at the period when Charles, weary of that particular Scottish faction which kept him enthralled, was engaged in a plan to join the opposite party, but was prevented by actual force. There is a letter of Abraham Cowley to Lord Arlington, in the *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 152, which gives an interesting detail of those events.

that w^t you shall therein performe shall ever be acknowledged on any seasonable occasion that may manifest your deserts and y^e esteeme and kindnes I haue for you, who am

Your loving friend,

CHARLES R.

St. Johnstons, 2 Oct. 1650.

The King to Sir Richard Grenville.

Taken from a Copy.¹

S^r Rich: Greenville, though it be not seasonable for me to giue powers to any to appeare for me, in regard of the diverse affecc'ons and dispositions of y^e people I haue to deale with in the present conjuncture of my affaires, yet I held it requisite to cherishe the good affecc'ons of those who haue the like kindnes for me as I haue observed in you, desiring you to continue constant therein, and to keepe your selfe in readines for my imployments when it shalbe seasonable, and in the meane time not only to be your selfe very secret and circumspect in what concernes my interests, but by all meanes to procure that all others be soe likewise, least if the Rebells shall discerne and app^ehend any disposition & intention in any of my good subjects to assist me, they shall, to p^event the same, use violence on those that are best inclined to my service. I haue soe great confidence in your affection as I am assured of your readines, and when there shalbe a fitt opportunity you shall be sure to heare from

Your very louing friend,

CHARLES R.

St. Johnstons, 2^d of 8^{ber} 1650.

¹ This Letter is highly deserving of notice, as a proof both of the good policy and of the good heart of the youthful Monarch. Shortly after this he lost a warm friend in the Prince of Orange, who died on the 24th of this month.

The Duke of York to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Sir Edw. Nicolas, though I haue much desired your company and aduise, yet not with the hinderance of the Kings seruise, nor your one inconvenience : but that now vpon the death of the Prince of Orange I haue more neede of your counsell then euer, which I desir you to comunicat to me by letter or any other waye as you shall thinke fitt. I desire you also to moue my Lord Culpeper¹ for monye to defray the charges of the Kings horses ; as well for the Kings honor, as to preserve 3 of the best of them for the Kings use. I desire you would aduise me wheither I may not presse my Lord Culpeper to lend me 1500 or 2000 Pounds, to be repayd if the King allow it not : the wanting of those supplies which I expected from the King and the Prince of Orange enforces me to this counsell, wherein I desire your assistance with my Lord Culpeper if you aproue of it : desiring you to beleiue that I shall euer be

Your very affectionat friend,

JAMES.

Bruxells, Nouem: 12. 1650.

Indorsed by Sir E. Nicholas.

2-12^o No^{bris} 1650. R. 8-18^o. The D. of Yorke from Bruxells to me.

Copy of y Dukes letter to my Lord Culpeper.

My Lord, the Kinges horses are to be sold for money to pay for their meat. Some of them are much pris'd by his Ma^{ty}, and cannot be sold to their worth : therefore I desire that you would laye downe the money due for their charges, so that the Kinges honor may be preserued, and the best of y^e horses still kept for y^e Kings use : wth w^{ch} I am sure his Ma^{tie} wilbe well pleased.

I rest your louinge friend,

Bruxells, Novemb. 12, 1650.

JAMES

¹ The first peer of that name. He supported the King's cause with great loyalty during the whole of the Civil War, and was an exile, for twelve years, with Charles the Second ; on whose Restoration he was made Master of the Rolls.

*The Duke of York to Sir Edward Nicholas.*¹

Sir Edw. Nicholas, I haue receiued yours of the 8. of Nouember from the Hage, and with it that from Dicke Fanshaw, and I haue as you desired me lett the King know why I had you not heare with me, which he knows very well was not your fault, and I am sure he is well satisfyde with you, and has the same esteeme he always had for you, of which I am confident before this tyme you haue knowledge of in his hauing sent for you to come heither to him, which makes mee now that I shall not say any thing more to you, because I hope to see you shortly, till when you may assure your selfe that I shall euer be

Your most assured freind,

JAMES.

Paris, Nou. 18, 1651.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Paris, April 6, 1652.

Mr. Sec. Nicholas, I haue receaued yours of the 28 of the last month, and doe very well approue of your sending me intelligence in your letters to the Chancelour,² by whom you shall againe receaue my pleasure, and information of all my purposes and resolutions, and directions concerning your selfe, w^{ch} the unsetlednesse of my condition heitherto hath kept me from sending so positiuely to you, as I hope shortly to doe. In the meane time assure your selfe I rely upon noe mans fidelitie and affection more then on yours, and you shall alwaies find me to be

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

¹ This letter was written after the unfortunate battle of Worcester, fought on the 3rd of September. It was on the 2nd of November that Charles landed in Normandy.

² The Earl of Clarendon; but he is not marked on the lists as Chancellor until 1658: the Great Seal effectively being at that period in commission.

*The Princess Dowager of Orange to Sir Edward Nicholas.*Breda, 21 July, 1653.¹

Mr. Secretarie, I haue been so long without giuing you thanks for all y^r letters, that if I did not hope you would not impute it to neglect, I should not know which way now to desire you to continu, but your knowing how little I loue this exercise will (I dout not) justifie mee enough in y^r opinion. I am very vncertain of my stay here, because it depends vpon his Majestis remoue,² who I wish with all my hart would not come into thesse parts till hee sees what becoms of the treaty, for I do much apprehend at last thay will agree: the Hollanders desiring nothing more. By this imagine how ill his Ma^{ties} reception will bee: Pray let mee know your opinion of this, and whether you beleue ther will be a peace, which in doing you will much oblige

Your affectionate friend,

MARIE.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.*Paris, Sept: 28, 1653.³

Nicholas, I am very well pleased with the paines I perceau by your letters to the Chancelour you take in my seruice, and you must upon all occasions lett those good men know, who communicate freely with you, that I am very sensible of their affections to me w^{ch} I will requite when it shall be in my power: I am exceedingly troubled at any factions and iealosyes amongst those

¹ From the Princess Dowager of Orange, in reference to the Treaty then pending between Holland and the English Commonwealth. The negotiations were finally settled on the 5th May, 1654.

² Charles the Second was then at Paris. From a letter written by Abraham Cowley to Lord Arlington very soon after this period, it appears that the King's dependence on Dutch friendship was greater than his sister's, as he believed the eagerness to conclude a treaty with Cromwell was not the wish of the States, but merely of a party which then was predominant. Vide *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 158.

³ This letter was written only a few weeks previous to Cromwell's assumption of the Protectorate. The initials in the latter part evidently refer to Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Mons. Befort.

who wish me well, and will use all my power to compose them, and if you meete with any who have hearetofore bene averse to those wayes, w^{ch} haue bene most conducinge to my seruice, or bene opposite to that party w^{ch} hath bene most tender of me, you may confidently assure them, if they haue now changed ther mindes, I will be there harty frind, and be very carfull to aduance there interest, and to requite there good will : In the particular w^{ch} you and Sr M. L: haue consulted, I thinke best to acquiesse in that generall, untill there shall be some declaration of at least an inclination towards me, and you shall let Mon^r Be: (to whom you are to commende me kindly) know that I shall then make it appeare, that it is in my power to add more strenght to those states then is imaginable : if you haue interest in any discreete person who is a confident of Count Williams, I would be glad he should know, that I haue great kindnesse for him, and doe much depend upon his good will and frindshipe to me in all my concernements, as indeede I do ;¹ proceede as you haue begun, w^{ch} is very acceptable to

Your constant louing frind,

CHARLES R.

Copie of the Kings (Charles II.) Letter to the Duke of Gloucester, concerning his being tempted to turne Papist.

Deare Brother,

Cologne Nov: 10: 1654.²

I have receaued yo^{rs} without a date in w^{ch} you tell me that Mr. Montague has endeauord to pervert you from yo^r religion. I doe not doubt but you remember very well y^e com'ands I left wth you at my going away concerning y^t point. I am confident you will observe them : yet yo^r letters that come from Paris say that it is y^e

¹ The King's mode of expression with respect to Count Williams is extremely remarkable. It seems as if policy had taught him sometimes to express favour and affection to those for whom he had a very different feeling, and towards whom, the addition of "as indeede I do" would not have been strictly consistent with truth.

² The King left Paris for Cologne on the 18th of October, and there he received much attention and kindness from the Princes of Germany.

Queenes purpose to do all shee can to change yo^r religion,¹ in w^{ch} if you do hearken to her or any body els in that matter, you must never thinke to see England or mee againe, & w^{soeuer} mischiefe shall fall on mee or my affaires from this time I must lay all upon you as being y^e only cause of it. Therefore consider well what it is to bee not onely y^e cause of ruining a Brother that loves you so well, but also of yo^r King & Country. Do not lett them p^suade you either by force or faire p^mises ; for the first they neither dare, nor will use, and for the second, as soone as they have perverted you they will haue their end, and then they will care no more for you. I am also informed y^t there is a purpose to putt you into y^e Jesuits' Colledge, w^{ch} I command you upon y^e same grounds neuer to consent unto. And when soever any body shall goe to dispute wth you in religion doo not answeare them at all. For though you haue the reasoⁿ on yo^re side, yett they being prepared will haue y^e aduantage of any body y^t is not upon y^e same security that they are. If you do not consider what I say unto you, Remember the last words of yo^re dead Father, w^{ch} were to bee constant to yo^r religion & neuer to bee shaken in it. W^{ch} if you doe not obserue, this shall bee y^e last time you will heare from

(Deare Brother)

yo^r most affectionate brother,

CHARLES R.

¹ In some private instructions given by the King to the Duke of York, and dated the 13th July, 1654, there is a passage which confirms Charles's anxiety about his brother, and strongly marks the Queen's breach of promise on this subject. "I have told you that the Queen hath promised me concerning my brother Harry in point of religion, and I have given him charge to inform you if any attempt shall be made upon him to the contrary ; in which case you will take the best care you can to prevent his being wrought upon, since you cannot but know how much you and I are concern'd in it." Vide *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 108. The "Mr. Montague" alluded to was Walter Montague, who had lately entered into Priest's orders, and, upon the death of Father Philips, became the Queen's confessor. Carte, in his *Life of Ormond*, speaks of his "busy temper, spiritual pride, and furious zeal ;" vide vol. ii. p. 163. Some further particulars of this bigoted Abbot of Pontoise, who was second son of the Earl of Manchester, may be found in page 676, vol. ii. of the *Sidney Papers*.

*The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.*¹

Mr. Secretarie, I ame verie glade to finde by your letter that you are safelie arriued and all your companie at Aix,² and that you found the King and my Neece³ so well in health and so kinde one to the other, which has euer bene so since I haue knowen them. I beleue indeed the seperation will be hard, but when there is no remedie one must be content. As for my iourney up hill I cannot tell what to say to it, S^r Charles Cottrell⁴ shall informe you how it goes but slowlie on, and which is stranger that it is not my fault. Dr. Morley has made a verie good description of the Queene of Sweden :⁵ she gaue an assignation to the French Ambassadour to meet her at Breda, whither he went, and so did the Prince and Princess⁶ of Tarente and most of our French gallants, who came

¹ Written by the Queen of Bohemia, sister to Charles the First. This, and several others, are very interesting specimens of her Majesty's style of epistolary correspondence. She seems to have possessed an admirable facility of introducing a greater variety of persons and things into a smaller space than falls to the lot of mankind in general. In short, her letters in this volume form an interesting commentary upon the grave affairs of that important period.

² Aix-la-Chapelle.

³ Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans.

⁴ He is repeatedly mentioned in letters from the Elector Palatine to his mother, preserved in Bromley's Collection; and appears to have been attached to the personal service of the Queen of Bohemia.

⁵ The far-famed Christina. It was in this year that she abdicated the Throne. There were several personal squabbles between the Ex-Queen of Sweden and the Ex-Queen of Bohemia; and the former felt a considerable jealousy of Elizabeth, who at this period was the correspondent of Des Cartes and of William Penn. Christina, even after her abdication, still attempted to mingle in politics. She even affected to treat and negotiate with Cromwell. She also offered several personal slights to the Queen of Bohemia: which may account for the manner in which she is spoken of upon several occasions.

⁶ Her Majesty's spleen against Christina seems to have affected her feelings even towards her own relations; for Emilia, Princess of Tarente, was daughter of William, Elector of Hesse Cassel, whilst Charles, the Elector Palatine, son to the Queen, was married to Charlotte, another daughter of the Hessian Elector. The Prince was Henry Charles de la Tremouille, then in the service of the States, and in command of the Hessian cavalry. His connection with these august families procured him to be chosen a Knight of the Garter in 1653, along with the young Duke of Gloucester.



ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

all sneaking home againe, for her greefe was so great for the beating of the Spanish armie before Arras¹ as she would not goe to Breda. She sent another account than that to the Ambassadour as you may imagin, but the Landgrave writt the truth to his neece the Princess of Tarente. We haue yet heere no particullars of this defeat, but in generall it is a verie great one. I long to heare what part my godsonne had in it, for I still thinke of him, being my cheefest comfort next your excellent Master. I ame verie glad your daughter is so well,² I doe not wonder at it, she is soe well vsed, and now she has her father with her she is the more content, and I take it verie well that all this makes her not forget her friends heere. I assure you I long to haue her heere againe. I am verie sorie for poore Killegrew,³ she was a verie good gentlewoman. You will heare by M^{rs} Howards letter howe great a scape my little Nephue escaped yesterday vpon the bridge at the Princess of Orange's house, but God be thanked there was no hurt onelie the coache broken: I tooke him into my coache and brought him home. The Princess of Orange went from hence vpon Saturday, and you will haue our Baron shortlie with you at Aix, he will tell you the second part of the Queene of Sweden, for he comes from her to your Court. to morrow I beleeeve I shall goe a shooting, which I haue not done since you went. I am verie glade to heere that you are established in your place, which you desarve so well. this is no complement but the verie truth from

Your most affectionat frend,

ELIZABETH.

Hage, Aug. 31.

I am verie sorie for my Lo: Wentworths sickness. I pray lett him know so from me, and remember me to Mr. Chancellour.

I pray remember my humble seruice to the King: the news of

¹ Allusive to the defeat of the Spaniards by the French on St. Louis's day, when their lines were forced, whilst besieging Arras, with great slaughter.

² Lady of Sir Richard Browne, and mother-in-law of John Evelyn.

³ "Kate Killigrew," daughter of Lord Stafford. She had been Maid of Honour to the Queen upwards of eight years. A curious letter, introducing this lady to her Majesty, in 1646, may be referred to in Bromley's Royal Letters, p. 135.

beating the Scotch¹ is now tolde quite contrarie by a ship come from thence.

“For Mr. Secretarie.”

Indorsed by Sir E. N. 31^o Aug: st: No: 1654. R. 3^o. 7^{bris}. Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh, Sep: 7 (1654).

Mr. Secretarie, I thanke you both for the good news you writt to Sr Charles Cottrell out of Holland, and for your letter I receaued this morning with the relation of the defeat before Arras. I hope you will send that of Holland to Curtius² that the beleef of the Scotch defeat may not be continued in Germanie. but none pleaseth me better then what you write of my deere Godsonne,³ and the continuance of my Neeces good health. The Queen of Sweden is yett at Anwerp, wee looke euerie day to see the Landgrave heere, and by him I shall know what she will doe. It is certaine that the flux is much in Monkes army,⁴ a Scotchman that is come from thence reports it, and all the particulars you haue written. Dr. Morley has a letter from Anwerp of some trouble by a discouerie of a new treason in London of the levellers against his pretious higness, but I beleuee you will haue more particulars of that then wee heere.⁵ Dr. Earle setts forwards to morrow to Breda and so

¹ This was a trifling affair ; being merely a check given to Lilburn the Parliamentary General, who commanded during Cromwell's absence.

² Curtius had long been the English agent, at Frankfort, to the German Princes. He had been Secretary to the King of Bohemia, and in 1640 was also employed by Charles the First in Germanic diplomacy.

³ We have been unable precisely to ascertain the “godson” here alluded to. In her Majesty's letters preserved in the Bromley Collection, there are frequent allusions to him. In one place (Bromley, p. 286) she speaks of him under the name of “Tint ;” but this seems merely a playful manner of writing to a familiar friend.

⁴ Monk commanded in Scotland at this period ; having superseded Lilburn, Morgan, and other parliamentary officers.

⁵ This was immediately after Cromwell's well-known treatment of the House of Commons, and his assumption of the Protectorate. It was on the 3rd of this month that he called together his first mock parliament ; and eight days after the date of this letter, the members swore fealty to him.

to Aix. I doe not write to you by him because this will be sooner with you. Our Baron has sent for his man Smith to meet him God knows where, for I doe not, I beleeve you will haue him at Aix: he is the direct wandring Jew. My Ladie Herbert is looked for heere shortlie, but she was not come from Paris the last week. I heare M^{rs} Hide¹ is to come to my Neece in M^{rs} Killegrews place, which I am verie glad of, she is verie fitt for itt and a great fauorit of mine, who ame euer

Your most affectio
nat Frend,



I pray lett my Lord Wentworth know I ame extreme glade he is of the kings councell, being so much his frend as I ame I cannot but wish him much ioye of it.

Indorsed, 7^o Sep^{bris} 1654. The Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hagh, Sep: 15. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, I assure you your letters are always verie welcome to me. I hope before this come to you, you will receaue a pacquet from Scotland which came to Rotterdam, and ould Will. Kepley caries himself to Aix. I shall be verie glad to know what news it brings, because heere is againe news of Monkes being beaten, which a man of Midletons writes to Straghen from Stranaven or such a

¹ This lady was afterwards Duchess of York, and, though not yet married to the Duke, at this period, she seems to have engaged much of the royal attention. Charles, in a letter to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, in 1655, says, "I will try whether Sir S. Compton be so much in love as you say, for I will name Mrs. Hyde before him so by chance, that except he be very much smitten it shall not at all move him." Sir Spencer Compton, son of the Earl of Northampton, was so loyal and gallant in his infancy, that, as Sir Philip Warwick informs us, though not able to grasp a pistol, yet in indignation he cried because he was not exposed to the same hazard his brothers were.

name, and from my Lo. of [illegible], and that all long for the King. Stone is at last here, he saith that Cromwell will be now either King or Emperour, I wish him the latter. he has heard nothing of Bamfeild, but I easilie beleeeue he is honnest enough to be well used by Cromwell, he tells the Fleet as you hear, but it will not be beleeeued heere. This day the assemblie of Hollande begins. theire agent in Sueden writt to the States Generall, that S^r George Fleetwood, brother to him that is Leftenant of Irland, tolde him that he knew Cromwell had saide he woulde keepe the peace with the States no longer then he found it good for his interests, and woulde break with the first occasion that he can for the good of his deseins. Those of Hollande are verie angrie at the agent for writing this: those that have seene the letter tolde it me. it is so late as I can say no more, but ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.¹

I pray remember me to my lord Wentworth, I have not time to answer his letter but will doe it by the first post.

15^o 7^{bris} 1654. R: $\frac{7}{17}$. Qu: of Bohemia.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hagh, Sep: 21.

Mr. Secretarie, I thanke you for yours of the 18 of Sept: yesterday I was tolde that all the people at Bruxelles were sending theire goods to Antwerp for feare of the French.² Some in a ship come out of England say that the mock Parliament beginn to dispute their priuiledges with Cromwell, but I feare they will but too well agree. I ame verie glade the King used Prince Williame and his ladie³ so well. Boswell⁴ is well enough serued, but I pittie him for he is vtterlie vndone. there is heere no news at all, onelie Mons^r de Wimmenom is verie sick. the States of Holland are

¹ The following letters of the Queen of Bohemia, where her name is not subscribed, are signed with her cipher, as in pp. 211 and 227.

² In consequence of the war existing in Flanders, between France and Spain.

³ Sister of the late Stadtholder.

⁴ Sir William Boswell, already noticed.

assembled, but Brederoke, Opdam, and Merode are not yett come. it is now verie faire weather. when the Princess of Tarents picture is ended by Louyr, which will be this day, then I may chance goe a shooting,¹ which I have not done since you went. I pray deliuer this inclosed to the King with my humble service. I ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray lett me know if the Queene of Sueden did write to the King by my Lord of Norwich, and if she did it ciuillie or not. Sure Dick Harding is growen a fish in his baths, for he is as mute as one, tell him so from me. I think the King had better stay where he is then to goe to Collein, he will not be so much at his leisure there as at Aix, those of Collein are odd people, so as I ame of your opinion.

$\frac{11}{21}$ 7^{bris} 1654. R. $\frac{14}{24}$. Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Mr. Secretarie, I ame verie glade that I shall see my Neece heere so soone, and I thanke you for all your other news. I beleue Dr. Morley will write those that he heares out of England of Cromwells dessoluing of his Parliament,² for being so ungratious as not to doe as he woulde haue them. it was confirmed to me the last night by one of the States Generall, for three of ther

¹ Hunting seems also to have been a very favourite amusement of her Majesty of Bohemia. It is frequently alluded to in these letters ; and in those of Bromley's Collection, sixteen years previous, there are several references to it.

² This evidently alludes to the transactions on the 3rd of September, 1654, when Cromwell summoned that Parliament which he immediately afterwards dissolved for their opposition to his assumption of the Protectorate ; a rank and authority which, up to that date, rested solely upon a proclamation of the Council, but was not sanctioned by the people. The speech, which the Queen of Bohemia alludes to, was that remarkable one on the first sitting of the House ; when a member, after denying the authority which had called them together, boldly exclaimed, " that as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one man, so now he could not endure to see the nation's liberties shackled by another, who had no right to the government but by the length of his sword."

Deputies are come from London that were sent about the treatie of the Amb^{ors} and the other disputes ; they confirme all, but it was so late that I coulde not heare of the particullars. the same State tolde me there was a speech of part of the orange and red men in rebellion against his pretious highness. I pray tell your daughter all this, for I had sealed her letter before I had the certaintie of the news. I ame verie glad the king resolves to stay at Aix, it is much better then Collein. I heare there is one that has heere-tofore served my Lo: of Brainford¹ paked from Scotland to the King but three days agone, and came from thence but sixe days before, he would tell no news but made hast away. Soone as he went, there reached heere one Thomson, one I haue seene before : he tells all the particullars of the defeat that is so bragged of. he saith that they were dispersed vpon it, but it is aboue fiue weekes since he came from thence, being come thourough England by his countrie, the borders, where in his passage he mett with a partie where he was hurt and lamed, but for all that he is gone to the King. he much complains of diuisions amongst them, and not of Sir George Monroe, which they doe also. I doe admire how people could tell so great a lye as the pacquet, but it is verie common amongst my councitmen.—Phil: Mohun is heere, she is fled from England fearing to be imprisoned by Cromwell, shes verie good companie and talkes verie freele but handsomlie. My Ladie Herbert is also heere, since Sunday last ; I haue had yett no time to aske her anie thing, hauing not seene her since Sunday. Thom: Doleman² is heere and desires leeu to see me, which I haue put off untill I know the Kings pleasure : for hauing so openlie owned the setting forward of the treatie I will not see him without the Kings approbation. I haue writt thus to your daughter, and desire you both to know the Kings pleasure in it. I entreat you besides to remember my humble

¹ Patrick Ruthen, Earl of Forth in Scotland. He had been General of Charles's forces during the Rebellion ; but was dead at the date of this letter.

² Dolman had suffered much in the royal cause during the civil wars. He was a Berkshire gentleman, and his house at Shaw, just below Donnington Castle, was one of the points of attack during the battle of Newbury, making a good defence against Lord Manchester.

seruice to him, and keepe me still in his good opinion, for it is the best seruice and frendship you can doe to

Your most affectionat
frend.

Hagh, Sep. 29.

I bragg'd to soone of shooting, for since I wrote the weather has not seruied.

“For Mr. Secretarie.”

29^o 7^{bris} 1654. R: 8^{bris}. The Queene to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hagh Oct. 2 (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, I send you heere a letter for the King, it is about a match betwixt Prince Adolphe the King of Suedes brother and Sophie ;¹ he has desired it verie handsomlie: my sonne has consented to it, reseruing the King of Suedens consent and mine, who ame to acquaint the King with it. I doe it now, and send you the copie of Prince Adolphes letter, I pray gett an answere from the King as soone as you can. I haue no more to say, but ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray assure me to my Lo: Wentworth, I write not now to him, I haue no time, for the post is readie to goe. I pray say the same to reuerent Dick Harding.

“2^o 8^{bris} 1654. st. No. R. 4^o. The Queene of Bohemia to me concerning y^e Kings consent for Pr^{esse} Sophia to marry Pr^{ce} Adolph, y^e King of Swedens brother.”

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hagh, Oct. 19. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, hearing that you may chance to stay all this week at Collein, I send you this inclosed for the King, to giue him

¹ Daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, afterwards married to the Elector of Hanover, and thence the stem of descent of the present Royal House of Brunswick.

humble thanks for his aprobation of Sophies mariage. You will haue vnderstood by Curtius all the newes of Germanie, for his going to waite vpon the King. You will finde by the English prints that they are forbiden to write anie thing of the proceedings of their mock Parliament. I was at Delft to see the wrack that was made by the blowing up of the powder this day seuenight, it is a sad sight, whole streets quite razed ; not one stone vpon another, it is not yett knowen how manie persons are lost, there is scarce anie house in the tounne but the tyles are off.—(*A great blot on the paper.*) Apollo with leaping into my lapp has made this blott. Thom. Killegrew is heere, who makes a rare relation of the Queene of Sueden. It is verie colde, which I hope will diminish the plague. I pray be confident that I am euer

Your most affectionat frend,

ELIZABETH.

I ame extreme glade to heare that the King is satisfied with Ruperts letter, and that he has answered him so kindlie. I pray doe poore Curtius all the fauour you can, that he haue something from the King to incourage him the more to serue him.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hagh No: 16. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, iust now I receaue yours, and for a cause that you shall know heereafter I now answer you, this is a riddle which none but your daughter and two more know. I was Saterdag last with my best Neece ¹ at Speiling, it being her birth day. I ashure you she is [in] much trouble for her deare Brother the D. of Glocester, all the world woulde looke for no other I can witness for you.—I ame sorie the King has so much cause of greef, I beseech God he may speedilie remedie it. I belecue my deare

¹ Perhaps the Princess Dowager of Orange, *par excellence* ; especially as the whole passage seems to refer to the attempts made at Paris, by Queen Henrietta Maria and her friends, to induce the young Prince to change his religion.

Nephue has a good resolution, but there is no trusting to one of his age. I confess I did not think the Queene woulde haue proceeded thus : all is kept heere verie secret that Prince Will:¹ doth in Overizel, but I ame tolde that all goes well, and that Deventer which tounne was the most against will doe well, as also Rupert who was of the other faction,² not against the P. of Orange but Marshals. I pray beleeeue me constantlie for I ame so

Your most affectionat frend.

I send you a letter for the best of Kings, tis about Thom. Killegrew's business. I pray remember me to Mr. Chancelour, and tell him his Ladie and my fauorit his daughter came hither upon Saturday, and are gone this day to Teiling. I finde my fauorit grown euerie way to her aduantage.

^{6.0}/₁₆ No^{bris} 1654. R. ^{9.0}/₁₉ The Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh De: 3. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, I receaued yours at Berghen, whither I was come from Anwerp and Bruxells. I finde you haue vnridled my riddle verie right. I saw the Queene of Sueden at the play, she is extrauagant in her fashion and aparell, but she has a good well fauoured face, and a milde countenance. One of the players that knew me tolde her who I was, but she made no shew of it. I went the next day to Bruxelles, where I saw the Arch-duc at mass, and I saw his pictures and lodgins. I lay at St Harry de Vics,³ who was verie carefull and dilligent to doe me all the ser-

¹ Prince of Nassau Dietz, married to the Stadtholder's sister.

² Evidently in allusion to the De Wit faction, which at this moment was disturbing the peace of the United Provinces. Their great object was to deprive the infant Stadtholder of his official power, and to give it solely to the Assembly of the States. This, in fact, was one of the articles which Cromwell enforced upon the States, as a *sine qua non*.

³ Sir Henry de Vic had been long in the English service. He was with the Duke of Buckingham at Rochelle; and there are several well-written letters from him to Lord Conway, respecting that affair, in Hardwicke's Collection of State Papers.

vice he coulde. I stayed but Sunday at Bruxelles, and returned to Anwerp vpon Munday, and heearing from Duart how the Queene of Sueden had desired to know when I came back thither, that she might meet with me in an indiferent place, I made the more hast away the next day because I had no minde to speak with her since I heard how unhandsomelie she had spoken of the King my deare Brother and of the King my dear Nephue, and indeed of all our nation, so I auoided it and went away as soone as I had dined. Yett she sent Donoy to me with a verie ciuill message that she was sorie she coulde not use that ciuilitie to me as she both should doe and desired, hoping that one day wee might meet together with more freedome ; I answered her as ciuillie as I coulde, and now when I went from Berghen I gaue Sr Will: Swann charge to make her a complement from me. I came hither vpon Tewsdays from Berghen, where I was extremelie well intertained by the Princess of Zolern¹ who was with me and was my guide all the iourney, and defrayed me. her daughter is now so prettie euerie way that you would like her yet better than euer you did if you saw her ; she is much growen and is still of a verie sweet disposition, and she doth become her : she has a great deal of witt and loues our nation extreamlie, it makes me think of your wishe² which I ame not against you know. by this post I haue had verie good news of the Duke of Glocesters constantie in his religion and of my Lo: of Ormonds handsome carriage in that business,³ so as the Queen saith she will press him no further in it, but I hope the King will not trust to it, but gett him away from thence, which will doe the King great right : it is so colde as I can say no more, but ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

¹ Francisca, daughter of Frederick the Rhingrave, and wife of John George Prince of Hohenzollern.

² Evidently allusive to a plan of producing a match between Charles II. and this young Princess, one of the daughters of the Zollern family.

³ This alludes to the attempt made to force the young Duke of Gloucester into the Jesuits' College ; from which, and other attempts upon his religion, he was only saved by the handsome conduct of the Marquis of Ormond, who voluntarily offered his services to the King to snatch his brother out of the hands of the Queen-mother and her bigoted Confessor Montague. Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. ii. pages 163-7, contains a very amusing account of the whole transaction, very much to the credit of the Marquis.

I pray excuse me to my Lo. Wentworth and reverent Dick Harding till the next.

“For Mr Secretarie.”

3 Dec: St: No: 1654 R. 6°. The Queene of Bohemia con^e her iourney to see the Qu. of Sweeden.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh De: 21. (1651).

Mr Secretarie, I haue receaued yours of the 18 of this month. I long to heare my sweet Nephue¹ is at Bruxelles. My Neece has sent Nick: Armourer to meet him there. I haue written to him by him, if the King woulde permitt him to take this place and Teiling in his way from Bruxelles he woulde make his Sister² and me verie glade: he need not make such hast to see him, it is but the other day since he was with him, but it is much longer since wee saw him, and I ame sure our hoghen Moghens will take no notice of it if they be not asked the question as they were for the King's comming to Breda. To be with his Sister some time can doe him no harme. I haue taken the boldness to write the same by my Lo: Gerard³ to the King, who I beleeeue will be with you as soone as this letter, for he went from hence vpon Saturday last. We heere nothing of the rebells fleet heerabouts, but they say that Blag⁴ is to ioine with the Spanish fleet against the Duke of Guise. The French Ambassadour beleeeues the treatie with Cromwell as good as broken; he is much ioyed that the meeting betwixt the Queene of Sueden and P. of Condé⁵ was to neither of their content, for he desired to be receaued as the Queene receaued the Arcdduc, which she refused, saying she had done too much in that and woulde doe so no more, yet he came to see her *brusquement* a

¹ The Duke of Gloucester, who was just brought from Paris by the Marquis of Ormond.

² The Princess Dowager of Orange.

³ Lord Gerard of Bromley; now extinct.

⁴ Admiral Blake is the personage here alluded to. The Duke of Guise died very soon after this letter was written, in consequence of wounds received at the siege of Arras.

⁵ Yet the Prince de Condé was a great admirer of Christina, and observed upon one occasion—“How great is the magnanimity of this Princess, who

l'improvisist, and did nothing but *railler* her in his talke, which putt her so out as she said almost not one worde. This was in the morning ; after dinner she sent to know if he woulde see the play at night, he said he would obey her, but desired to know whither he shoulde come knowen or as unknowen, for if he came as Prince of Condé he looked to haue a *chaise a bras* as the Archduc had—she saide he had better come unknowen, so he came, and she stood all the play, railling with Mon^r Quito the Princes favourit. the next day the P. went to Bruxelles, and neither of them well satisfied with the other. My La: Swann will be heere within a few days, by her I shall know more of this : I haue heard the reason of S^r Henry de Vics iourney to Coloign :¹ since it is a doting time for the kings ould Ministers of State, I thanke God your wife is yet aliuie, for feare you should fall in loue againe. I pray lett me know when that wedding will be, for I (will) send you a letter to reverent Dick to bespeak him for brideman. I thank you for your congratulation of Apollos² returne, you know how great a favorit he is to

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray tell my Ladie Hide I ame verie glade she is so well come to Coloigne.

“For M^r Secretarie.”

¹¹/₂₁ Dec: 1654. R. ¹⁴/₂₄. The Qu: of Bohemia co^s the Pr. of Condé and the Qu: of Sweedes being unsatisfied w^h each other.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh, Dec: 27 (1654).

Mr. Secretarie, since you wrote yours, I understand that that could so easily give up that for which mankind are continually destroying each other, and which so many throughout their whole lives pursue without attaining !” Condé, at the period here recorded, was in exile at Brussels ; and though he felt offended upon the score of etiquette, her abdicated Majesty seems to have treated him with great familiarity, exclaiming “Cousin ! who would have thought ten years ago that we should have met at this distance from our countries ?” The Prince might have thanked her for his exile, as it arose partly from her intermeddling in the affaires of the Fronde in France, a few years previous.

¹ It was an affair of courtship ! Her Majesty again alludes to it in . 222.

² Her Majesty's lap-dog, already noticed !

arch villaine Manning has receaued his iust desert.¹ I wish all those of his cabal with him. I wish I might know whome he has accused on this side the sea, to auoide them, but this is onelie in case you may tell it, for I doe not desire it otherwise; I haue curiositie enough to desire to know the rest, but I will not desire but as you think fitt. There is little news heere, the King of Sueden² has a sonne borne to him and has and prospers exceedingly. the K. of Poland³ is in Silesia, hunts and passeth his time with little care of anie thing else, this I haue from his owne resident, but I feare the Electour of Brandebourg⁴ will be in a ill condition if he doe not make an agreement with the King of Sueden. it is beleueed that Prince Williame will be shortlie Marschall of the Feelde: those that were so much against him are not now so fierce: else there is no news, onely Scone is come, and I hope all will be well ended in that foolish business. I ame euer

Your most affectionat friend.

Mr. Charles Cottrell, my Lo: Wentworth,⁵ and reverent Dick Harding, I cannot write to them now for lack of time. I pray say the same to Mons^r Soiret from me.

¹ Of this Manning a remarkable anecdote is related in a scarce tract, now in the British Museum, which professes to give a memoir of Charles during his exile.

"Before his Majesty's departure from Colen, there happened a discovery of one of those persons who, under pretence of waiting upon him (Capt. Manning by name) discovered unto the Protector all his designs and counsels; who being found out, was by his Majesty's command, sent to a strong castle adjacent to Colen, there to be kept close prisoner. But all the Court being highly incensed against him for his perfidiousnesse, one of his Majesty's servants (though contrary to order) pistoled him as he was lighting out of the coach at the Castle gate, giving him less than the due reward of his so abominable treachery." It was by this Manning that Penruddock was betrayed. He corresponded with Thurloe.

² Charles Gustavus Duke of Deux Ponts, who had recently succeeded the abdicated Christina.

³ The well-known John Casimir. The Queen's observations seem almost prophetic; as the whole of Poland was conquered by the Swedes in less than two years after the date of this epistle.

⁴ George William, grandfather of the first King of Prussia.

⁵ Lord Wentworth had been high in command, during the Civil Wars; and after Goring went to France, a second time, he had the command of the Western Army. Yet Bulstrode says of him that "he was a very lazy and unactive man, and was not thought either of interest, experience, courage, or reputation enough for that trust which was devolved upon him."

There are some curious anecdotes of him in Bulstrode's *Memoirs*, p. 150, &c.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh Jan: 4 (1654-5).

Mr. Secretarie, I haue receaued yours of the 29th at my returne vpon Thursday last from Teiling, and this morning I haue letters from Bruxelles, who tell me that my deare nephue the D. of Gloucester was there vpon new years eue the same day I was at Teiling, but when he came thither or goes from thence I know not. I ame extreme glade the King permitts (him) to see his sister and me. I hope he will suffer him to stay some time with my deare Neece, it will be a great contentment to her and no hurt to him, and as long as there is nothing tolde to the States of him, they will take no notice of it, this I know is true. I am sorrie for poore S^r Henry de Vic,¹ for lett the match break or goe on, it is euerie way ill for him: We heare no certaintie heere how the French treatie with the rebels in England goes, whither it breake or peece.² I am verie sorrie for the Countess of Mortons death,³ I pittie S^r Thom. Berkley, but most her children. the Queene of Sueden is now at Bruxelles, where she was receaued in greate state: I beleue the Arch-duke⁴ wisheth her at Antwerp, for she persecutes him verie close with her companie, for you know he is a verie modest man. I haue written to the King some particullars of it which are verie rare ons, but the Prince of Condé is still verie unsatisfied with her and will not come at her. I haue one peece of news which it may be you haue not heard: the resident of Polande tells me that there is a treatie betwixt Sueden and Polande and a perpetual peace, and to assist one the other against the Muscovits: the King of Poland will quit his pretention to

¹ Sir Henry de Vic, in the early part of Charles the First's reign, had been his Majesty's Secretary for the French mission, and also agent to the King of Denmark. See p. 220.

² In January the cavaliers were stirring, but in vain; and in the following November, Cromwell made peace with the French. The Ex-Queen of Sweden and the Prince of Condé seem to have been meddling with those affairs, through the diplomatic exertions of the Count de Tott; as may be seen by reference to a letter in Bromley's Collection, p. 186.

³ Widow of William Earl of Morton, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and long in great personal favour with Charles the First.

⁴ Archduke of Austria.

Sueden vpon condition that he be recompenced with some lande or Islande for his heire, that if they be not chosen to succeed the kingdome of Polande, they may haue some place to them selfs to liue in, for the K. of Polande has no patrimonie of his owne nor can buy anie lande under the croune of Poland: his agent has order to goe for England, to see if Cromwell woulde send some ships against the Muscovits to make a diuersion. the good agent is verie vnwilling to goe, but he must obey his master. Sure Cromwell is the beast in the Revelations that all kings and nations doe worship; I wish him the like end and speedilie, and you a hapie new yeare as¹

your most affectionat frend.

“For Mr. Secretarie.”

4^o Jan: St. No: 1654-5. R: 7. Qu: Bo:

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh Jan: 10 (1654-5).

Mr. Secretarie, I beleeeue you will heare at Collein how I haue beene debauched this last week in sitting up late to see dancing. wee made Friday out and every night, which lasted till Saterdag at fiae a clock in the morning, and yesterday was the christening of P. Will:² childe: I was at the supper: my Neece, the P^s douager, the little Prince³ and P. Maurice were gossips: the States generall, I meane their Deputies, and the Counsell of State, and myself and Louyse were there as guests. after super was dancing this (till) three a clock, my little Nephue was at the super and sett verie still all the time: those States that were there were verie much taken with him. the King of Sueden with his army is within an houres going from Kunisberg with twenty thousand men, most horse. the Elector is in the toune and has also which they say is twentie thousand also, he has [*torn off,*] foot then the King has

¹ Her Majesty's political gossip in this epistle is highly deserving the notice of the historian. A preceding note shows that the proposed peace between Poland and Sweden was of very short duration.

² This evidently refers to William Frederick, Count and Prince of Nassau Dietz, who had married Albertine Agnes, sister of the late Prince of Orange.

³ Afterwards William the Third of England, then only four years of age.

[*also torn*]¹ Ambassadour goe this week from hence towards Sueden and Dennemark, one of those that goes for Dennemarke is Mon^r d'Ameron a gentleman of Utrecht, a verie honest and great Royalist and so you may be sure my great frend, but I beleeeue they will doe but little with that King, for I am tolde from a good hande that he and the K. of Sueden are in verie good intelligence together, which I am not sorie for considering how little these States assist there allies. My deare Neece continues her resolution of going from hence Thursday next, but I dout the weather will hinder for it thaughts apace.

I ame euer your most affectionat frend.

I have not time to write to Mons: Soiret, but tell him he was wished here vpon Friday last. I haue written to my Nephue all the particullars of what they were and who was best dressed.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh, Jan. 11 (1654-5).

Mr. Secretarie, I hope my next will tell you of my sweet Nephues being wellcome to Teiling, for Mr. Lovell assures vs all heere that he is perfectlie well. I beleeeue Mr. Fraiser is not sorie to haue a commission to waite upon him this way, for soe he may see his Mistris though she will not confess him so. I know not how your people at Colloigne² goe on with their business, but our

¹ This alludes to the first invasion of Poland by Gustavus, who marched from Pomerania into that Kingdom after the irruption made by his order, by General Wirtemberg.

² Charles the Second now kept his Court at Cologne, but in great privacy. Sir Stephen Fox is described by Bulstrode, as having the care, management, and disposal of his household, which he kept at an expence of not more than six hundred pistoles *per* month. In fact, such was the royal economy, that Charles never kept a coach during his long stay in that City. "In the time of the King's banishment," adds Bulstrode, "he spent two years at Cologne, where he was well received by a widow, at whose house he lodged."

In a letter written by the King to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, and preserved in the *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 109, it appears that Charles led a very rational and sober life whilst at Cologne. He says: "I hope it will not be

resident Thom. was asked yesterday for the first time, and so was Jack Sayers. I feare resident Halle will not haue by much so good a bargain, but how Bess who is left at Bruxelles will take it, for she has written a terrible letter to S^r Charles Cottrell of it, and how confident she is of her Masters honnestie to her, so as she may chaunce forbid the bains. Vicfort tolde me yesterday that Bourdeaux has order to stay yett in England, which shews what you beleuee is true. the news I writt to you of Poland and Sweden is most true, and that De Bre makes still his monitions to goe for England.

Wee had a Royaltie, though not vpon twelf night, at Teiling, where my Neece was a gipsie and became her dress extreame well was a Northolland boorine; Mrs. Hide¹ a shephardess and I assure was verie handsome in it, none but her Mistress looked better than she did. I beleuee my Lady Hide and Mr. Chancelour will not be sorie to heare it, which I pray tell them from me. the queene of Sueden takes a house at Anwerp, all her owne people leaues her and Italiens and Spaniards comes in their place. Heere is little news stirring. I beleuee you heare of the quarrelle betwixt my soone and the Elector of Ments, it may come to some² ill business. it is so colde and they make such a noise with their bells and pleids in (the) street as makes me end, but am euer

your most affectionat frend.

I pray remember my humble seruise to the King, and in my name make an humble suit to him in Thom: Killegrews³ behalf.

many days before you see how we pass our time at Collen, which tho' it be not so well as I could wish, yet I think it is as well as some of you do at Paris; at least some that are here would not pass their time so well there as they do here."

In another letter, Charles mentions a design of himself and the Princess Dowager of Orange, to go to the Frankfort Fair *incognito*.

¹ Afterwards Duchess of York; but then in the household of Princess Dowager of Orange.

² A trifling dispute about boundaries.

³ Killigrew, so well known in the private history of Charles's reign, was groom of his bedchamber after the Restoration, and happened to be engaged one morning with a volume of his own plays, which he took up in the window, whilst his Majesty was shaving. "Ah! Killigrew," asked the King,

It is to recommend him to Pr. William for Captaine Morgans companie who is dead. the companie lyes at Orzo and is under Eri . . . e, it will make him to subsist untill the King be able to doe for him, and his wiues frends haue putt him upon it. I woulde not trouble his Ma^{tie} with a letter since you are in the place. Thom: writes himself to the King about it; it will be a great honnour for him the Kings writing because his wiues frends will by that . . . his Ma^{tie} favour to him.

“For Mr. Secretarie.”

11^o Jan. 1654-5. R.¹⁴. Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Mr. Secretarie, I haue receaued yours. My sweet Nephue is not yett gone from Anwerp, but I hope now the weather is better, and I shall see him I hope shortlie, for as soon as he comes to Teiling I will be there. I hope it is a good prophesie of the Electrice of Brandebourg ¹ hauing a sonne, but she doth looke to be deliuered before the end of this month or the beginning of the next. The letters out of England say Cromwell is bringing his armie to London, and doubles his gardes, plants cannon in manie places in London and at the Toure; it is saide he will make himself King by force since he cannot be it otherwise: this is written to the P. of Torent. I doe not heare that Bariere is at Bruxelles. I will tell Thom. Killegrew what the King answeres. As for the Archduc he may thanke God to be ridd of the Queen of Sueden, who is lodged at the Count of Egmonts house in Bruxelles, where she stays all winter. My Lord Norwich has got news that the Archduc goes for Spaine, and Don John of Austria comes in his

“what will you say at the last day, in defence of all the idle words in that book?” To which the facetious Tom replied, that he would give a better account of his “idle words” than the King would do respecting *his idle promises* and *more idle patents*, which had undone more than ever his books did!

¹ The Electress Elizabeth Charlotte was daughter of Frederick V. Elector Palatine, and therefore sister-in-law to her Bohemian Majesty.

place and marrieth the Queene of Sueden, and to haue the Low Countries as the Archduc Albert, but I beleeeue it not: there is nothing else that I have to say to you but ame euer

Your most affectionate friend,

Hagh, Jan. 18.

8^o Jan: 1654-5. R: 11-21. Queene of Bohemia.

To her Royall Highness the Lady Princesse Dowager of Orange, from the States of Holland and West-Vriesland.

Most excellent Princesse,

We were informed by some that the Lord King Charles your Royall Highnesses Brother should haue betaken himselfe within the limitts of this State, and particularly that he should at this present shelter himselfe in the house at Tylinge: And although we cannot by any meanes belieue or expect from the wisdom and reason of the said mighty Lord the King that he would or durst vndertake contrary to the Treaty of Peace made the last yeare with the Commonwealth of England to come within the limitts of this State, and directly against our particular orders comprehended in our Resolutions of the 30th of July, 2nd and 4th of August all in the year 1653, and the writing made by the vertue thereof to be giuen to your Royall Highnes within the Province of Holland and West Vriesland: So haue we after good reasons, and for settling our selues in entire rest, found meete with these to set before the eyes of your Royall Highnes what is said before, with a desire and demaund that you will speedily declare, and assure vs of the truth hereof, nothing doubting, but desiring and requiring your Royall Highnes as much as in her lyes by all good offices and duties to be willingly helpfull to take heede and effect that the said mighty Lord the King doe not cast himselfe within the limitts of their high and mightines: and referring our selues thereto

Most excellent Princesse, We committ your Royall Highnes to

Gods protection. Written in the Hague the 8th of March
1655. Your Royall Highnesses good friends

The STATES of HOLLAND and WEST-VRIESLAND.

By order of the same,

HERBT VAN BEAUMONT.

1655.

The superscription.

“To her Royall Highnes the Lady Princesse Dowager
of Orange.”¹

Indorsed by Sir Edw. Nicholas.

8^o Martij 1654-5. Copy of the translation of y^e let^r
written by y^e States of Holl^d to y^e Pr^{esse} R^{ll} conc^e
y^e K^s being reported to be at Tylinge.

*Instructions for our trusty & well-beloued Seruant, Richard
Browne, Clerke of our Privy Councell &c. (in 1640).*

Charles R.

Having occasion to send a person of trust into Holland, unto
our deare Sister the Queene of Bohemia, and our Nephew the
Prince Elector Palatin, Wee are pleased to make choise of you for
the imployment, and for your better direction therein, to provide
you wth the Instructions following :

You shall represent unto our Sister, and Nephew,² (wee beeing
informed he hath a desire to passe over into these partes) how
inconuenient it would be for our seruice if att present he should
undertake the journey, and that wthall, it can noe ways aduantage

¹ The obscure Editor of Grebner, in his astrological guesses, has the following curious one. Speaking of Charles I., he says, “The old Prince of Aurange he almost beggard, and yet to no purpose; the Parliament one time or other getting all armes and ammunition which ever came over to him; its confidently averred, if the King had become absolute here in England, Aurange had been King,” &c. In the margin this political conjuror adds—“Its pittie Aurange liued not to master the Jew Hollander.”

² The Elector Palatine had been in England previous to this, and was then elected Knight of the Garter. In consequence of the present negociation, he did not proceed to England until 1643, two years afterwards. Perhaps Charles the First was aware of his possessing those sentiments which finally induced him to side with the Parliament, in opposition to his Royal Uncle.

his owne affaires, since we shall still haue the same care and affection for them, in his absence, as if he were present, and now especially in this Treaty between us and the States of the Vnited Provinces, and the Prince of Orange, wherein his interests shall not be forgotten.

That for the paper w^{ch} S^r Richard Cave ¹ hath given us, Wee find it soe directly contrary to the interests of the States, and in itselfe impracticable, that from that ground, Wee cannot hope any effects conducible to the good of our Nephewes affaires, yet in the present Treaty we are resolu'd to endeauour y^e interest of him, and the House Palatene, soe farre as the present conjuncture of affaires will permit, it being one of the principall motiues that induced us to harcken to this Alliance wth the States, and the Prince of Orange.

You are further to giue our Sister and Nephew, all reall assurances of our loue and affection to them, and particularly of our desires, that all misunderstands (if such there chaunce to haue bin) that haue happened either in circumstance or otherwayes, concerning the ouuertures of this Marriage ² intended betweene our eldest daughter and the Prince of Oranges son, may be taken away: Wee foreseeing that nothing can be of more aduantage to them in their present condition, then that there be a cleare vnderstanding, and all reall friendship betweene them, and the Prince and Princesse of Orange: w^{ch} you are effectually to represent vnto them by all the arguments and reasons you can frame, and of what dangerous consequence the contrary may be to their interests and restitution.

You shall likewise give unto our Sister and Nephew, a true and particular knowledge of the state of the Treatyes betweene us and the States Ambassad^{rs} as our principall Secretary shall informe

¹ This Sir Richard Cave appears to have been much engaged in the affairs of Holland and the Palatinate. In Bromley's Collection of Royal Letters, he is mentioned by the Count Palatine in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia, as Captain Cave; he was then serving in the army, and occasionally employed in diplomatic affairs.

² The marriage took place on the 2d of May, 1641, when the Princess was only twelve years of age; and it is a curious fact in Charles's private history, that it was celebrated with great magnificence in the interval between the sentence and the execution of the Earl of Strafford.

you) as well of that of the Marriage, as of y^e Confederation, in the latter of which, we are resolved (as aforesaid) to take a special care of their interests.

You are to acquaint them, that although the two Treatyes are not come as yett to a conclusion, neuerthesse hauing been pressed by the Prince of Orange, that his son might passe into England before his going to the Field, Wee haue so farre giuen our assent thereunto as that wee haue left it to him, to doe therein as he shall thinke fitt.

You are to impart these our Instructions vnto S^r William Boswell our Resident, and to take his aduise in all things that may concerne our seruice, and you are wth him to addresse your selfe in our name to the Prince & Princesse of Orange, & to passe like offices wth them for the endeauouring & settling of a good understanding betweene our deare Sister, our Nephew, and them, according as wee soe earnestly desire, and their interest requires : Giuen under our Signe-manuall att our Court at Whitehall y^e 23th of Febru: 1640.

(Signed)

H. VANE.

Indorsed,

“ His Ma^{ties} Instructions to Mr. Browne, going into Holland 1641.”

*Instructions for our trusty and welbeloued Richard Browne,¹
Esq. one of the Clerkes of our Privy Councell, and our
Agent wth our good brother the most Christian King :
(in 1641)*

CHARLES R.

Wee hauing occasion to imploy our right trusty and right welbeloued Cousin the Earle of Leycester² our extraord^{ry} Ambassad^r with our good brother the French King, in the gouernment of our Realme of Ireland, as our Lieutenant generall there, and to

¹ Afterwards Sir Richard, father in law of John Evelyn, Esq.

² Robert Sidney, nephew of the gallant Sir Philip.

that end being now to recall him from his employment in France : Wee haue that confidence of your fidelity, and abilities, and particularly of your experience in those parts, that wee haue thought fitt to make choice of you for to be our Agent there, and that you may the better acquitt your selfe in that charge, you shalbe provided wth the Instructions following :

First vpon your arriuall in that kingdome, you shall addresse yo^{re}selfe vnto our said Ambassad^r extraord^{ry} for to be by him presented vnto that King, to whom you shall deliuer yo^r l^{res} of Credence, and impart your charge :

And when you shalbe thus admitted to his presence, you shall in due, and the best manner, lett him know the great affection wee beare to his person, and the good aduancement and prosperity of him and his affaires, and how much wee doe desire, according to the antient friendship and strait obligations betweene us, to maintaine all good intelligence and correspondence. To w^{ch} end, that there may be nothing wanting on our part, We haue now, vpon the comming away of our Ambassad^r, sent you to reside there : And soe you are accordingly to make this your principall aime, as it is indeed the proper charge of all Amb^{rs}, Legats, and Agents, to nourrishe and maintayne a good correspondence betwixt the two Crownes.

And therefore you are to informe yo^{re}selfe of all former Treatyes, and more especially of the last and most freshe in practice, betweene these Crownes, being the rule by w^{ch} the proceedings of the subjects of both sides are to be regulated.

And that you may better know wherein Wee, or our subjects, are any wayes concerned in those parts, whether in suites, processes, or otherwayes, you are to take all fitting and necessary informations from our said Ambassad^r, and what businesses shalbe left in agitation by him for o^{re} seruice, you are in our name to continue the prosecution thereof, and to giue account of yo^r proceedings therein.

Another part of your charge is, that you watch carefully ouer the motions of that State where you are, what treaties, alliances, assistances, or ennemities shalbe moued wth other States openly ; or vnder-hand, wherein our affaires may be any wayes concerned ; and for yo^r better light and information herein, you are to keepe

intelligence wth our Ambassad^{rs} and Agents wth other Princes, and States, to whom wee will giue orders to correspond wth you.

And as there shall further occasion arise for you to negotiate in, for our seruice, you shall receiue directions, either immediately from our selues, or from our principall Secretaries in our name, w^{ch} you are to obserue & follow, as if it came vnder our owne hand, and from time to time to aduertise them (or vs as the importance of the occasion may require) of all yo^{re} proceedings, and what soeuer else may come to yo^{re} knowledge, w^{ch} may be usefull and necessary for the good of our affaires :—Whitehall the 23th of July 1641.

H. VANE.

“ Instructions for Mr. Browne.”

July 23, 1641.

CHARLES R.

Nostre feal et bien amé Richard Browne, Gentilhom'e de Nostre Chambre Privée, Secretaire en Nostre Conseil Privée, et Nostre Resident en France, salut. Comme ainsi soit que ceux contre qui Nous avons a faire presentem^t touchant le reste des derniers Dotaulx ¹ de Nostre tres chere Epouse la Reyne, se veulent servir contre Nous de certains pretendus Ordres donnez l'un au mois d'Octobre 1633, par feu Nostre Grand Thresorier : ² l'autre par Nous du 20^{me} Juin 1639 a Barwick. Nous vous declarons & tous aultres qu'il appartiendra, que Nous desavouons celuy pretendu du dit N're Grand Thresorier, com'e estant donné hors son pouvoir, et contre le bien de Nos affaires et interests, & contre Nostre intention. Et pour celuy donné au dict Barwick, Nous le revoquons absolument, com'e ayant esté tiré de Nous par surprise & du tout contre N^{re} intention & le bien de Nos affaires. Ce que vous declarez et notifierez quand ainsi vous adviserez éstre affaire. Et

¹ This resumption with respect to the Queen's dowry was evidently to facilitate the supplies from the Continent ; since at this precise period her Majesty transmitted to the King a considerable sum of money raised upon the pawned jewels of the Crown. She went to Holland on the 23d of February preceding.

² Richard Weston, Earl of Portland.

pour ce faire, ces Nos Lettres vous seront Garrant et Authorité suffisante. Donné sous Nostre signet le dixneufiesme jour de Juillet a N^{re} Cour a Beuerley, 1642, l'an *XIIX^{me}* de N^{re} Regne.

A N^{re} feal et bien amé Richard Browne, Gentilhom^e
de N^{re} Chambre Privée, Sec^{re} en N^{re} Conseil
d'Estat & Privé, et N^{re} Resid^t en France. 1642.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well beloued Wee greet you well. Whereas one Walter Strickland¹ hath bin very lately sent in y^e name of both Houses of Parliam^t here with credentials to treat with o^{re} Allyes the States G^rall of the Vnited Netherlands, as pretended, for the publick good, though without any concurrence or knowledge of Us, which We must interprett the highest act of affront & disobedience w^{ch} hath bin committed against o^r Royall person & dignity ; And this example leading us to a beleefe of what Wee haue bin told, but were not apt to creditt whilest there was any shew of reverence of o^r knowne Regalities yet remaining, that Augier,² or some other person, is by the said Houses sent with their usurped comission into France ; Wee haue thought fitt hereby to authorise & com^{and} you to use y^{re} best and utmost meanes as well privatly as publickly & in Our Name to hinder & oppose any audience, countenance, or treaty in any kind to be afforded the said Augier or other whatsoever craving the same of o^{re} Brother the French King, the Princes of the Blood, or any of the Protestant Party, o^{re} Friends & Allyes, without Warrant under owre owne hand. And if, notwithstanding, Augier or any other shall prevaile, That you then in O^{re} Name solemnly protest there against the highest violacon of theire Allyance & Friendship with Vs, against w^{ch} Wee shall seeke such reparacon as by God's assistance Wee shall be enabled. For all w^{ch} as these o^{re} Letters shalbe y^{re}

¹ This Strickland was afterwards a member of Parliament, and one of those who had been strenuous in the affair of the "Self-denying Ordinance ;" yet he is expressly stated by Walker, in the "History of Independency," to have been in the receipt of large sums from the public purse.

² Augier had formerly been in his Majesty's confidence in the diplomatic negociations on the Continent with regard to the Elector Palatine.

sufficient Warrant & Proteccion, So we shall expect hereof yo^r faithfull & bounden discharge as occasion therefore shalbe offred vnto you. Giuen at o^{re} Court at Nottingham the 12th day of Septemb^r in the Eighteenth yeare of o^{re} Reigne 1642.

“To our trusty & welbeloved Richard Browne, Esq.

Our Resid^t with o^r Brother the French King.”

Indorsed,

“From his Ma^{ty} 20th day of Sept^r 1642.”¹

CHARLES R.

Trusty & welbeloved Wee greet you well. Wee beleeeve that before this Letter the Capucins² of Somersett house, or some from them, wilbe arrived at Paris & haue represented there how disgracefully they were lately entreated at London. Wee are exceedingly displeased that soe high an affront hath been put upon the Treaty between Vs & the French King Our Brother, & upon Our owne Authority. But forasmuch as this barbarous Act is the child of that monstrous Rebellion w^{ch} goes big with confusion & destruccion to our Person & Posterity as well as our Laws & Rights. Wee wilbe cleare of any imputacon thereof, disavowing the same, the authors, actors & abettors thereof, as Wee doe disavow & detest all their traytrous machinacons against Vs & the Peace of Our Kingdoms, leauing them obnoxious to the iust indignacon & revenge w^{ch} God shall inflict upon them in his due time. And to this effect Wee will & command you in Our Name to make yo^{re} addresse to Our said deare Brother the French King for his satis-

¹ This letter was written a month after the King had hoisted his standard at Nottingham.

² This evidently refers to the complaints, so long existing, against the Queen's Ecclesiastical establishment. So powerful was the popular feeling against Popery, that the King was forced to proceed much further than his own intentions would have led him; for he not only offered, in a message to the Parliament, to require by proclamation that all statutes concerning Popish recusants should be put in execution, but that the seven condemned Popish priests should be banished, and all Romish priests to depart the Kingdom in twenty days. Burton's Civil Wars.

faccon & the discharge of Our conscience & affeccion to Him in this regard. And soe Wee bid you farewell. Giuen at Our Court at Oxford the 5th day of Aprill in the Nineteenth yeare of Oure Reigne.

1643.

“To our trusty and welbeloued Richard Browne,
our Resident with our deere Brother the French King.”

From his Ma^{tie} 5th April, 1643.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

SIR EDWARD HYDE,
AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON,

AND

SIR RICHARD BROWNE,

AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF FRANCE, IN THE TIME OF KING
CHARLES I. AND THE USURPATION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE connection which Lord Clarendon had with the events and politics of the period to which this Work refers, is too well known to require more, in this place, than a short introductory sketch illustrative of the subjects noticed in the various letters. The first two of these are written from Jersey, whither Sir Edward Hyde had accompanied the Prince of Wales ; having indeed been of his Council when he was at Pendennis Castle, which he evacuated in 1645. Jersey was at that time under the government of Lord Jermyn ; and Sir George Carteret was his deputy. When the Prince went to Paris to join his mother, Sir Edward remained behind ; his reasons for which are fully recorded by himself in his *Life*. At Jersey he staid two years ; and during the same period Sir Edward Nicholas was at Caen in Normandy, afterwards in Holland, where he had the King's leave to reside, on his being forced to fly from England.¹ Lord Digby also, to whom frequent reference is made, had been in Ireland, when Charles fled to Jersey : but joined him soon after with two frigates, and two hundred soldiers ; at which time he strenuously urged the departure of the Prince for his father's Irish dominions. The Prince having afterwards proceeded to Holland, Sir Edward Hyde joined

¹ Vide Lord Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 286.

him there in 1648,¹ and, soon after the murder of the Royal Martyr, was sent Ambassador into Spain, from which country he rejoined the young King in France, and was appointed resident at Antwerp, where he remained during Charles's unsuccessful attempt in Scotland ; but was ordered to Paris on his master's arrival there after the escape from the battle of Worcester.

These events fill up the hiatus between 1646 and 1652, the date of the *third* letter ; and it only remains to explain some particulars of the affairs alluded to in many subsequent parts of the Correspondence, with respect to the Royal fleet.

When Charles I. perished on the scaffold, a portion of the Navy revolted from the Parliament, and sailed to Holland in aid of the Royal Cause. These ships were soon put under the command of Prince Rupert, and were employed by him in a predatory warfare against the Commonwealth, besides making several attempts on the Eastern coast of England in aid of the small Royal party still existing there ; after which they proceeded to the Irish coast, where they took some valuable prizes. The Parliament sent Blake after them ; but in 1649, Rupert, having forced his way through Blake's fleet, continued to capture English ships, apparently on his own account, and indeed without either asking for, or receiving, any orders from his Majesty. He then proceeded for Portugal, but was forced off by Blake, so that he was obliged to fly for the Mediterranean, where he commenced aggressions on the Spaniards, and was repaired and refitted at Toulon, from whence he found it necessary to retire, sailing, in 1650, for the West Indies.

At this period Scilly and Jersey sent out swarms of privateers ; but those islands being captured by the Parliamentary forces, the freebooters were obliged to bring their prizes into the ports of Brittany ; and, in return for the sanction of Royal Commissions, were called upon to pay certain droits into the King's Exchequer—a circumstance to which many of the following Letters refer.

In 1652, Rupert arrived at Nantes from the West Indies, after suffering heavy losses from storms ; so that, in fact, he only brought back one man of war, and three or four other vessels, being the sole remains of twenty-five ships of force of which his squadron

¹ A very interesting account of his adventures upon that occasion may be found in Clarendon's Life, page 105.

originally consisted: and these he was compelled to sell to pay his seamen, under circumstances which will be found illustrated in the ensuing Notes.

It may be proper here to bring to the Reader's recollection that the King staid at Paris until 1654, when he proceeded through Flanders to Spa; thence to Aix La Chapelle, and, finally, to Cologne, as noticed in the preceding series. In 1657 he was at Bruges, where he appointed Sir Edward Hyde to be Lord Chancellor of England.



Sir Edward Hyde.
by Sir Peter Lely.

CLARENDON LETTERS.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*¹

S^r,

THAT you receaved not an answer to your very kinde letter of the 4 of June, by some of the Princes trayne, you must impute to that agony of minde, which was necessary to oppresse me, at the partinge fro' so pretious a iewell, and with so many good frends ; I hope I shall be agayne restored to them, howeuer that all happinesse will crowne ther counsells ; whilst I with some very good frends of yours pray for them, in this poore island ; you will very much refresh vs with your correspondence, that wee may vnderstande the hopes, and progresse of that prosperity wee pray for. I doe not in the least degree apprehend a possibility of a peace betweene the Scots & the Independ'ts, but feare more the manner of the warr, least in opposicon to the nacon all the

¹ From the general purport of this letter, it is evident that Sir Edward Hyde was by no means pleased with the Prince's journey from Jersey to Paris. His reasons for this are pretty fully detailed in his "Life," and also in the second volume of State Papers, p. 276. The justice of the political opinions here expressed was fully verified by the succeeding events.

See also p. 239, 2nd vol. State Papers, for the King's reasons respecting the Prince's visit to the Court of France ; and p. 307, for further observations on the "Scots and Independents."

English turne Independ'ts ; which sure may be præuented : I believe the crisis is at hande : I wish you all happinesse, beinge,

S^r,

Your very affectionate Serv^t,

Jarsy, this 12 of July 1646.

EDW. HYDE.

I beseech you remember my seruice to Mr. Nicolls,¹ and desyre him, if Coll. Murray² should not be at Courte, that he keepe my letter to him, in his handes, till he see him ; and that he deliuer it to none else. Your favour (S^r) for this to S^r H. Mackeworth.³

Sir Ric. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue this day receaued yours of the 18. of August⁴ [qr. July], and by your leaue continue the giuinge you this trouble ; by this tyme I hope his Highnesse hath had so good a recepcion at ffontainebleau,⁵ that hath made some amends for the former wante of ceremony : Methinkes the imaginacons that it is possible for the

¹ Who this Mr. Nicolls was, does not appear ; for though Sir Edward Nicholas's name is sometimes spelled so in these letters, yet being then knighted he would have been called Mr. Secretary, as Sir Edward Herbert is often called "Mr. Attorney."

² Colonel Charles Murray, a companion of the Prince from Jersey to Paris. There is a humorous letter from him in Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 255, describing the arrival of his Royal Highness in the French capital, and subsequently at Fontainebleau.

³ The first Baronet of that name, of Normanton, in Rutlandshire ; and brother to the "brave and honest" Sir Francis, who distinguished himself in the Civil War, as Major General to the Marquis of Newcastle, and afterwards served in the Low Countries, during Charles's exile.

⁴ This apparent anticipation of date, when compared with that of this letter, may have arisen from Sir Richard using the Gregorian style, from Paris, whilst Sir Edward preserved the old style, in conformity with English custom.

⁵ The letter, spoken of in the preceding postscript, for Colonel Murray, appears to have been written on the subject of the Prince's reception at the French Court ; for in the second volume of Clarendon's State Papers, p. 254, there is an epistle from the Colonel, describing the distinguished reception which the Prince met with on his arrival at Fontainebleau.

Kinge to submit to those vyle proposicons,¹ is the next treason to the making them, ther beinge in them no seedes left, out of which Monarchy may agayne possibly springe : and therefore I longe to heare how our brethren of Scotland comorte themselves upon his refusall, which yet I doe not exspecte will be positive, but such a one as they at London will vote to be a refusall : I beseech you let me heare, how your intelligence from London diposes the Catholiques ther, I suppose that party cleaves to the Independ'ts, and I am sure had hearetofore fayre promises from them ; and can have no hope from the Presbitery. I feare the ill successe of the ffrench in Italy and fflanders,² will giue them an excuse for those faylings to his Highnesse, which they meant to committ in the most prosperous condicon : and if this indispoticon in the Pr. of Condé be in earnest, they may haue ther excuses multiplied.³ If my brother Aylesbury⁴ be come to you, I pray let him receaue this inclosed letter, otherwise keepe it for him. My service to Mr. Nicolls,⁵ to whome I sent a packet by Dr. Jonson, which I hope came safe to him ; My LL^{ds} heare, and our very good Gouverneur,⁶ are your seruants, as I am very heartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate, humble seru^t,

EDW: HYDE.

Jarsy this 14. of Aug. 1646.

Sr Ric. Browne.

¹ The propositions here alluded to are noticed in the preceding portion of this work.

² During the war with Spain, in the minority of Louis XIII. ; but these events were not of sufficient importance to require specific illustration.

³ The Prince of Condé was then at the head of the party in opposition to the politics of Mazarine. He was sometimes a courtier, sometimes a politician, and sometimes a rebel in arms.

⁴ Son of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Bart. and brother of Sir Edward's second wife, who finally became heiress to her father and brother.

⁵ See note to preceding letter.

⁶ Lord Jermyn.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*¹

(Signed by Edward Hyde himself.)

Sr,

Yours of y^e 24. of Jan : from yourselfe and S^r G. Carterett came [not] to my hands till y^e post was gone, and I am now in soe great torment wth y^e gowte, that I am not able to keepe off my bed, and soe must use another hand, w^{ch} I hope you will pardon. The Duke of Yorke² is now here, and conceiues all obstrucons are now remoued, w^{ch} troubled you at Brest, the Marquis of Castelnou³ hauing made large promises to his Highnes : I would aduice you hereafter (though you may giue me an account apart) to send a very particular state of all the businesse and miscarriages there, to the D. of Yorke himselfe, Sir John Berkeley, or Mr. Bennett ; since all redresse must be obteyned by

¹ This letter relates to the difficulties respecting the reception and sale of prizes. Of the persons referred to, Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, was then Secretary to the Duke ; Berkeley had been his Governor : Castelnau was Governor of Brest ; Holder was agent for the captors ; and Carteret, who had been Deputy Governor of Jersey, was then, or soon after, a Rear Admiral in the French service, though still attached to the Royal cause. Sir Richard Browne, the King's resident at Paris, had been dispatched to arrange affairs at Brest.

² The Duke of York had much personal interest at this crisis at the French Court ; for he had very recently distinguished himself in the French King's service, under the command of General Count Harcourt, and against the Prince de Condé's forces, especially on the preceding Christmas day, when, though Condé was finally victorious, the Duke charged against him in person, and commanded the forlorn hope, consisting of the English cavalry. In this rencontre the Duke's horse was shot under him ; but he himself received little hurt. Vide a printed pamphlet in the British Museum, "A bloody fight in France, Lond. 1651-2."

³ The hopes of Lord Clarendon from the promises of Castelnau were but indifferently founded ; for the pamphlet quoted in the preceding note expressly states that at this period the return of the Cardinal Mazarin into France with a force of 7000 men had produced great jealousies at that Court, and that Castelnau and Villeroy having forwarded his return, on purpose to undo him, were suspected by him, and had therefore forsaken the Court. Castelnau's deputy had pretended an order from his Court to detain the prizes, in hopes of being bribed by the captors.

y^e sole mediacon of his R. Highnes, and you shall doe very well to expresse at large the misdemean^{rs} and cheates of y^r Capitaines,¹ whom upon all occasions Mr. Holder hath wonderfully magnified. You must take spetiall care for y^e safe and speedy conueyance of this inclosed from the King to the Gouvern^r of Innisbofine,² and I pray send the other to Sir George Carterett, if he be gone, and excuse this shortnesse, w^{ch} my extreame payne produces. I am,

S^r,

your very affeconat humble seru^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Paris, 8 ffeb: 1652.

Sir Rich. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

Within 2. howers after my last to you of the 17. were sent away, I receaued both yours of the 5 and 9. of this moneth. I am entirely vnacquainted with the person or the purposes of your Capt: Anthonie,³ nor do I heare that he is in these partes. I should imagyne, that whateuer else he does, he will neuer putt himself in the power of the Hollander, whome he hath sufficiently

¹ This little squadron had been recently very active, particularly in the chops of the Channel ; but the Republican newspapers of that day affected to treat them with great contempt. In one of those, of the 8th of the preceding month, preserved in the British Museum, it was roundly stated that Capt. Chapman, in the Recovery, convoying a small vessel for Ireland, had met with the Francis, the Patrick, and the Hunter, and maintained a gallant fight from eleven at noon till night parted them. Prince Rupert is also stated to be at this period at sea, "with six or seven lusty ships," and to have taken several Spanish vessels.

² It was reported in the London papers that the King intended to set out for Rome, professing openly to own the Catholic religion, on which terms it was promised to him that the Duke of Lorraine should make a diversion in his favour in Ireland, by the relief of Galway, and by a general interference in affairs in that quarter.

³ Commander of one of the privateers attached to the Royal cause.

prouoked and damnified.¹ I cannot giue you any good accounte of the transactions betweene this Crowne and the English Rebels, only that ther is nothinge like that order, of which you say you are aduertised from Rowen, that Pr: Ruperte² is requyred to go away with his shippes and pryyses, his Highnesse hauinge all the respecte heare, and I thinke, security, he can desyre: and I heare they do not now bragg so much as they haue done, of ther treaty in Englande, and are not without some apprehension, that the Rebels of Westm. may fauour ther fellow rebels of Burdeaux:³ or letters fro' London importe no new notable effecte of ther alteracon; ther Councell of the Army still sittinge at Whitehall to forme ther new modell of gouernment. I know not what to say to the complainte of your seru^t, because you will not giue me leaue to take notice of it to the partyes who are most concerned, but I believe ther may be some errour or malice in the reporte,⁴ because I am told by a very true frende of yours, that it is the maydes owne fault that shee hath not her dyett ther, and that because shee might not be trusted with the gouern^t of the kitchen and the buyinge the meate (in which shee was thought to lauish) shee absolutely with greate indignation refuses to take her dyett, with which they say the lady is much troubled: but I tell you agayne, I haue this only from a frende, and not any of the house. I doubte your mayde is apt to be angry, and when shee is, shee may be as vnreasonable, as such angry people vse to be. Upon my con-

¹ The Royal fleet and the privateers were, at this period, in a great distress for a port to shelter them, in consequence of the Parliament having captured the Scilly Islands, which had for some time been their principal harbour; Jersey also having fallen.

² Though the fleet under Prince Rupert was, strictly speaking, an English one, yet it appears that in a recent attack upon the Spaniards he was avenging a private cause; for when, in the Spring of 1652, he sailed from Toulon with four men-of-war and two fire-ships, and instantly commenced hostilities against the Spaniards, taking as his first prize a ship worth 100,000 crowns, he put forth a declaration, in which he stated one of his reasons for this aggression to be in revenge for the injuries committed by the Spaniards against the Palatinate.—Vide *Life of Prince Rupert* 1683.

³ Alluding to the Prince Condé party, then active in the south of France.

⁴ Nothing can more whimsically mark the great change of circumstances of the English courtiers, than this rapid transition from national politics to kitchen gossip.

science you haue not the least reason to suspecte Geo. Carterett's¹ frendshipp or kindnesse to you, but you must not make his frequent writinge the measure of it, and it is very possible (for he hath bene out of all roades) he may haue written, and his letters miscarry, as yours may haue done to him.

I am very hartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate humble serv^t,

EDW: HYDE.

Paris this 20th of May, 1652.

Sir Ric: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I giue you hearty thanks for yours of the 17. which came safe, and I distributed the inclosed accordinge to ther directions; and the Kinge is resolved to obserue this order, of sendinge twice a weeke to Paris, wherby all our correspondencies will I hope be præserued: I send you a pistole inclosed that you may keepe an euen reckoninge with your man for the portage of my letters,² which will quickly spende such a summ, so that I conclude your owne charge in this seruice is no easy burthen; for what will concerne me, I will be carefull to supply, as this wastes. Wee haue yett taken no further resolucon, then to sitt still some tyme heare,

¹ Sir George Carteret, before this period, had been Governor of Elizabeth Castle, in Jersey, as Deputy to Lord Jermyn, besieged by the Parliamentary forces in 1651. His conduct was so loyal as to merit the praise even of his enemies, one of whom said in a letter, preserved in the British Museum, "I hear he hath sent to the Scots King, to acquaint him with the state of affairs, as touching our approach, and condition of the Castle, from whom he expects a letter; and if he with it signs a warrant for delivering up the Castle, I believe the Governor (to make his own conditions the better) will soon yield it up; yet, without it, his devout allegiance is such, that he will do nothing."

² However trifling this caution appears about a sum so insignificant, yet it will be found, in a subsequent note, that the postage of letters was a most important article of expenditure to the exiled Royalists.

both to decerne what conclusion your distempers will produce,¹ and what our friends of Hollande will do : you will be careful to receaue all information and aduice from the Dutch Ambassadour² how affayres goe ther, and transmitt it hither : if our letters fro' the Hague be true, they looke more kindly towards us fro' that climate, then they haue done, and the Ambassadour hath receaued some derection to communicate with his Ma^{ty}; but I know he is so iust and kinde, that he will gladly imbrace the orders, and therefore I doubt our information may not be true. The wayes I hope will be so secure shortly betweene us and you, that wee may euen visit each other.³ God preserue you, and me as I am with my whole heart,

Sr,

Your most affectionate humble Serv^t,

EDW: HYDE.

ffriday night this 19. of July, 1652.

Euery body sends ther letters to me, & I cannot refuse to transmitt them : you will lett your man dispose them to the seuerall posts. If the Spanish Ordinary be not speedily expected, I pray putt this under youre cover to Bryon.⁴

Sir Ri: Browne.

¹ The distempers here alluded to were the disputes, and consequent civil war, between the Condé and Mazarine partizans.

² Mynheer Borell. One of the Journals of that day ("Perfect Passages," 23 July, 1652,) says, "Charles Stuart, being gone from the Louvre, continues yet at St. German's, where he hath been saluted by a messenger from the Marquis of Brandenburg, inviting him into Germany. His creature Brown, and the Dutch Ambassadour Borel, are often togeather."

Borel had been Pensioner of Amsterdam, and was very much devoted to the Royal cause, having formerly been Ambassador at the English Court. He was also of the Orange party, and anxious for a war with the Commonwealth.

³ The road between St. Germain's and Paris was at that period totally unsafe on account of the military marauders of both armies.

⁴ Count de Brienne, first Secretary of State to the French King.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*S^r,

Yours of the 20. came safe to me, and so the inclosed were disposed accordingly : I am sorry ther should be any hazard of hauinge our letters intercepted,¹ which I thought by the remooue of the Armyes would haue been now without any doubt, especially since the Carry-all of this place trauelles dayly & securely to Paris : howeuer I will obserue your advice, and write any thinge of importance

you are in the King's name to returne
in cypher : 731 . 405 . 532 . 668 . 220 . 13 . 596 . 667 . 333 .
his Mat^{ies} very to the Dutch Ambas^r
502 . 239 . 13 . 699 . hearty thanks 667 . 668 . 142 . 95 .

his Mat^y is of his
and indeede 502 . 239 . 529 . exceedingly sensible 598 . 502 .

kind n e s s e and freind shipp
544 . 30 . 7 . 13 . 62 . 23 . 407 . 488 . 651 . and if God

his Mat^y d
blesses him, will make it appeare that he is so. 502 . 239 . 15 .

e s i r e s the Ambas^r to lett him
23 . 13 . 27 . 36 . 56 . 62 . 668 . 95 . 667 . 551 . 505 .

know the warre is d e
546 . as soone as he is assured that 668 . 723 . 529 . 25 . 23 .

c l a r e d that hee will
15 . 28 . 21 . 36 . 7 . 26 . and then 673 . 501 . 710 . aduice

his Mat^y what he is to do
502 . 239 . 717 . 501 . 529 . 667 . 439 . both with reference

the U n i t e d P r o v
to 668 . 43 . 30 . 27 . 12 . 23 . 25 . 41 . 34 . 36 . 22 . 43 .

i n c e s and to this Crowne with which
27 . 30 . 15 . 56 . 13 . 407 . 667 . 671 . 437 . 713 . 722 .

his Mat^y will in that manner
502 . 239 . 710 . interpose 532 . 673 . 573 . 30 . 23 . 36 .

¹ The disturbances at Paris and its vicinity were at this period of such a nature as to justify the apprehensions here expressed. The scandal of the day asserted also that Charles was by no means a favourite with many of the highest rank in France; and it is recorded in a Gazette, or Mercurius Politicus of the 1st July, 1652, in the British Museum, that "Charles Stuart hath secured himself by shewing them a pair of heels," (just after the victory obtained by the Prince of Condé close to Paris,) "and retreating from the Louvre to Court, where the King harbours him, being highly distasted by the Duke of Orleans, Mademoiselle, the Princes, and all the people, so that they have made several books and songs of him."

as the Ambas^r best
 401 . 668 . 95 . shall thinke 416 . 13 . 12. I shall not neede
 him for
 to bespeake your diligence in calling often 600 . 505 . 469 . 86.—
 You will do me the fauour to send this inclosed to S^r Jo. Mennes,¹
 who I suppose is still at Calice. I pray do me the fauour to desyre
 Monsieur Paule to giue you the title of the Duke of Bauaria, and
 to informe you how longe he hath bene Duke :—You will exspecte
 no newes from this place wher wee haue little to doe, but to study
 & take the ayre, and to longe for good newes of peace in this king-
 dome. If the messengers dispatched from hence doe not attende
 you at those howres they should, it is not for want of derECTION
 heare. I haue a serious quarrell with you for somewhat Dr. Earles²
 hath lately aduerticed me of, which in good earnest I take unkindly,
 and doubte you haue not so good an opinion of my friendship as
 I wish you should, and for which I must chide you heartily when
 wee meete.

Let me know particularly what you receaue from Englande, and
 lett your man enquire for letters derECTED as Edgman³ aduiced
 you. I am,

S^r,

Your most affectionate faythfull Seru^t,

EDW. HYDE.

S^t Germaines. Tuesday morninge 23. of July 1652.

Sir Rich: Browne at Paris.

¹ Sir John Mennes was Rear-Admiral of the Fleet in the reign of Charles the First; and was one of the most distinguished loyal officers, when the Parliament took those extraordinary steps which led to the defection of the greatest part of the naval force. He was removed from his station by the Earl of Warwick, in 1642, after the unsuccessful attempt of his Majesty to regain the fleet in the Humber, which failed through some mismanagement on the part of Sir John Pennington.

² Dr. Earle, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, author of the "Microcosmography," was one of the Loyalists attached to the exiled Court, and Chaplain to the King. He was in strict habits of friendly intimacy with Hyde, two of whose letters to him may be found in vol. ii. of the State Papers, pp. 322, 329. In the latter, Sir Edward facetiously arranges the Doctor's leisure time, allowing him two hours to eat his dinner, and "two hours in the projecting where to get one."

³ Edgman was Secretary to Sir Edward Hyde, who, once vindicating him from a charge of having violated a seal, declared he knew him to be so honest, that before he would be guilty of such a villainy he would starve!

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue not had an opportunity till now to acknowledge the receipte of yours of the 24. which came safe to me, and the contents therof were immediately by me imparted to his Ma^{tie}, who had not before heard of many of the particulars, nor do wee yett heare from the Court of any such message¹ sent from the Duke of Orleans, which it seemes they thinke fitt to conceale, when they do not intende to satisfy.

I am very sorry for the good Deanes² indisposicon, though I am gladd it is nothinge but a ffitt of the stone, which I am very farr from vnderualewing, yett it seemes lesse daungerous then a vyolent ffeauour with which wee heard he labored: I pray remember my seruice very heartily to him, and send me worde quickly of his perfecte recouery.

The wante of the title of the Duke of Bauaria keepes us from making a congratulatory dispatch to him, which is requisite in seuerall respectes, therefore I pray hasten it as soone as you may: let me heare any particulars you receaue from Englande, especially how our frends at Detforde doe.³ If it would be any comforte to you to haue companyons in misery, you will heare shortly that wee are in greate distresses,⁴ for I cannot imagyne which way the Kinge

¹ Comparing this letter with another of the same date to Sir Edward Nicholas, in State Papers, vol. iii. p. 85, it appears that the whole of the news, here alluded to, related to the negotiations carrying on between the Court and the Condéans.

² This was Dr. Stewart, Dean of the Chapel Royal, whom Clarendon, in another place, calls "a very honest and learned gentleman, and most conversant in the learning which vindicated the dignity and authority of the Church." He had been long about Charles's person; for, as early as 1646, in a letter preserved in the State Papers, vol. ii. page 253, and addressed to the Prince, the King calls him an honest trusty servant, and recommends him to his Royal Highness as Dean of his Chapel, telling him at the same time to take the Doctor's advice, "giving reverence to his opinion in all things concerning conscience and church affairs."

³ This inquiry refers to the Evelyn family at Says Court.

⁴ The periodical prints of that day thus account for the King not wishing to remain at Paris. "The Scots King is still in Paris, but now upon his remove. What shall he do then? Trayl a pike under the young Lady of Orleans;" (this

will be able to procure mony for his subsistance ; nor indeed how the ffrench Courte will subsiste it selfe. Wee know nothinge heare of the Spanish army : what is become of it?

You will still commend the King to your neighbour : if the wayes were once open, I would make a iourney ouer to visitt you, and to be merry 3 or 4 howres : I am very heartily,

S^r

Your most affectionate humble Seru^t,

E. H.

S^t Germ: 26 July 1652 ffryday 9 at night.

I pray send me the copy of a warrant for Barronett, for I am not sure that myne is not defectiue.

Sir Ric. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

The messenger who brought me yours of the 27. is so positive in the iustifyinge himselfe, that I cannot but desyre you to examine his allegations, which if not true, he shall be no more sent on his errande, at least not by me : he sweares, he was on Saturday at your house, by 11 of the clocke, and you not being at home, he left the letters, both the Kings and myne with your mayde : this is so contrary to what you say, of his not appearinge before 4 of the clocke, (which putts me in apprehension that our packetts went not by the last ordinary) that I haue a great minde to know the certainty, and whether the fellow hath any excuse or not : I told the Kinge of the expedient you proposed, which he lyked well, only it was sayd by a stander by, that one footeman would not be alwayes willinge to make that iourny, and hauinge so little encourage-

lady had recently raised a regiment for the French King's service against the Confederate Lords :) "an honour too large for the late Majesty of Scotland. His confidants have satt in Council, and it is allowed by his Mother, that during these tumults in France, it is neither honourable nor expedient for him to continue in Paris, the affections of the citizens for the most part being alienated from the King," &c.

ment, it is no wonder, that euery man is willinge to saue his labour : I am of your opinion that the breach is already too wyde, betweene the two Commonwealths, to be easily closed agayne. I pray God wee may make good use of it, which will most depende upon your neighbours aduice and derection : I pray hasten the Duke of Bauaria's titles, &c. I wish I could tell you of a more plentifull condicon heare, because I am confident you would haue a share of it : upon my worde, the Kinge hath not yett receaued a penny of supply since his comminge hither : he hath hope of 300 pistoles, for which he gott an order at his beinge at Grubuse, but payment is not yett made : ¹ seriously I cannot be more troubled at any thinge, then at your distresses ; which I had rather see relieued then my owne : I will not surpryse you at Paris, and would be glad that the communication should be with more freedome, before I uenture thither. —I will by Saturday send you a letter for George Carterett, ² from whome I wonder I heare not, but more, that he forgetts his promise to you : I thought your agent ther had taken the duties in spetie accordinge to former aduice. The defeate of Count Harcourte ³ I would haue bene gladd to haue receaued more particularly : wee hauinge heare heard nothinge of it : and the Court needes none of these humiliations. God præserue you, and,

S^r,

Your very affectionate hu^{ble} serv^t,

E. H.

S^t Germaines this 29. of July :

Munday 3 in the afternoone

1652.

Sir Ri: Browne.

¹ This delay is easily accounted for, by a reference to the preceding letter respecting the pecuniary difficulties of the French Court.

² Sir George Carteret, after having been forced to surrender Jersey, was very active as a sea officer in the King's service ; and in the month of July, 1652, he is stated to have been on the coast of Flanders with 13 sail under the royal colours, making prize of English vessels. Soon after this he joined Van Tromp ; and subsequently served as Vice Admiral of the French fleet under the Duke of Vendosme.

³ Harcourt was a gallant and loyal French officer ; but his laurels faded before the genius of the great Turenne.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*S^r,

I receaued yours of the 30. late the last night, and reade euery
 worde of it this morninge to the Kinge. ^{His Ma^{tie}} 502 . 239 . is very
 much troubled ^{tha the Ambass^r} 673 . 668 . 95 . should receaue any præiudice
 for his friend s h i p p to him
 469 . 502 . 488 . 13 . 17 . 27 . 34 . 35 . 667 . 505 . nor
 can imagyne by what hande those offices are done.¹ The truth is,
 ther is so greate a licence of writinge vnder the nocon of gettinge
 intelligence, for which euery man thinkes himselfe qualified, that
 men care not what they write,² so they may prætende to know
 much, and I have seene some letters from Hollande, wherein it
 hath beene sayd, that ^{the S t a t e s} 668 . 13 . 12 . 4 . 12 . 7 . 62 . 506 .
 giuen ^{Ambass^r to} 493 . 30 . order to ther 95 . 667 . communicate all affayres
 with the Kinge
 713 . 668 . 220 . and so it seemes others who belieued that
 true, may haue giuen notice of his resorte to the Louer, possibly
 without any ill purpose, and yett I will not absolue them from that
 nether: at least, folly and impertinency does the same mischieue
 that malice does: but the ^{King} 220 . would haue you assure ^{the Amb^r} 668 . 95 .
 that he will be as carefull hereafter as he desyres, and for the two
 he will
 papers, 501 . 780 . examine his cabinet, wher he is sure they
 are, if he did not burne them, and deliuer them to me, and I will
 then send them to you by some sure messenger: ffor ^{S t} 13 . 12 .
 a r k y and ^{Taylor³} 21 . 36 . 51 . 10 . 407 . 39 . 21 . 10 . 28 . 53. I am of
 your opinion for the first, that he is honest, but a foole: The

¹ The De Wit party were at this period predominant in Holland, in opposition to the Orange Partizans, who were, of course friendly to the King.

² Sir Richard Browne himself had many enemies at this moment among the English Exiles; some of whom, from a wish to dismiss him from the King's service, went so far as to insinuate at Court that, "his Majesty being present, he could have no Resident." This is alluded to in a letter from Sir Edward Hyde to Secretary Nicholas, in the State Papers, iii. 112.

³ This Taylor, adverted to in former notes, was the King's agent with the Emperor of Germany and the Diet; as appears more particularly in a letter to

other is more a foole, and I doubte not so honest, though yett I do not take him for a spy : nor can I imagyne it possible for them to make any sober vsefull proposicons 667 . 668 . 95. The Kinge will follow the aduice, 407 . 13 . 27 . 12 . 42 . still, till the Ambass^r w^{is} h^e sⁱ him to moue 668 . 95 . 20 . 529 . 17 . 7 . 62 . 502 . 667 . 577. The Lord Willmott into Germany¹ and if sendinge 394 . 532 . 667 . 186 . is not declared, 407 . 531 . hee goe s^h hee goe 501 . 491 . 13 . (which will not be yett) 501 . shall not 491 . by Holand, the King would nott haue the Bishop 415 . 192 . 668 . 220 . 728 . 589 . 514 . 668 . 99 . propose to the Ambass^r that any such thinge 667 . 668 . 95. Though he be willinge 673 . you should lett the Ambass^r know 731 . 666 . 551 . 668 . 95 . 546 . that as low as his power hee can putt such places in Irland and Scotland is, 501 . 429 . 615 . 654 . 618 . 13 . 532 . 204 . 407 . 363 . of Holand into the handes 598 . 192 . as would inable them to torment their enimyes :² Ther is no opinion of the good nature and grati- Pr.El.Pal.³ The Earl of Br: was to counsell tude of 308 . 452 . 598 . 103 . 707 . called 667 . 121 . as Counsell^r of an old 121 . 599 his father :⁴ and it would haue bene greate pittie

him from Sir Edward Hyde (State Papers, Vol. iii. p. 112), in reference to an approaching meeting of that body. But in the same volume, page 121, a very strong reason is given for Lord Wilmot's German Embassy, for Hyde says, "I am sure a wise man is wanting there ; for Taylor is the most absolute fool I ever heard of."—Vide further, same volume, pp. 113, 116.

¹ How well the King's motions were watched by the Parliamentary spies, is evident from the fact that a journal of the 5th August, 1652, states—"The late King of Scots is at St. German's, and expects daily to bee sent for by the Hollanders. The Lord Wilmot is designed to go Ambassador from him into Germany."

² This is a most extraordinary fact, and perfectly in unison with another letter from Sir Edward to Secretary Nicholas, published in the State Papers, vol. iii. p. 86. Fortunately for the King's credit, and the honour of the Nation, the idea was finally dropped by both parties.

³ The Elector Palatine subsequently justified this opinion ; for, when the German Princes made up a sum of ten thousand pounds for Charles, the Elector, though under great obligations both to his father and grandfather, did not contribute a single stiver.—Vide Clarendon's History, vol. iii. p. 418.

⁴ In tracing the conduct of the Earl of Bristol throughout these letters, the

he should not : he is a good old man, and much my frende.
L^d Digby

155 . intends his owne businesse and lookes not after what concerns us : I thinke I haue answered all yours : and I am able to add nothinge of this place : god of heaven præsereue you, and me as I am heartily,

Sir,

Your very affectionate hum^{ble} Seru^t,

EDW. HYDE.

St. Germaines, Wensday July

31. 8 at night. 1652.

Sir Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

Since I writt last to you (though it was but on fryday night) I haue receaued 5 letters from you, two of the 2d, one of the 3. of the 4. and the 5. of this moneth, all which are now before me to be answered in order, after I have exceedingly thanked you for your dilligent and very punctuall correspondence, which is so greate a virtue, that it is high iniustice not to rewarde and gratify it, which I hope will one day be done.

I have informed the Kinge of the Venetian Ambassadors complainte against Mr. Killegrew,¹ with which his Ma^{ty} is very much troubled, and resolues upon his returne hither, to examyne his miscarriage, and to proceed therin in such a manner as shall be inquisitive reader will derive much amusement from Walpole's account of him as a Noble Author.

¹ Sir Edward, in his Life, page 116, says, that the King was at first unwilling to send Killigrew to Venice ; but afterwards was prevailed upon, only to gratify him, that in the capacity of Envoy " he might borrow money of English merchants for his owne subsistence, which he did, and nothing to the honour of his master."

This letter adds some interesting historical detail upon a circumstance but slightly noticed in the page of history. François Erizzo was the Doge who acted thus cavalierly to the representative of an exiled Monarch. Perhaps one of the most prudent, yet most dignified, of the events of Charles's reign, is the affair here treated of : and the Venetian Senate, if they had any feeling for Royalty in eclipse, must have experienced a degree both of shame and sorrow for their hasty conduct !

worthy of him, and as may manifest his respecte to that Commonwealth, with which the Crowne of Englande hath alwayes held a very stricte amity, and his Ma^{ty}s Ministers haue in all places præserued a uery good correspondence with the Ministers of that State, and therefore his Ma^{ty} is the more sensible of this misde-meanour of his Resident: However his Ma^{ty} wishes that the Republic had proceeded accordinge to the vsuall custome, and first acquainted him with ther iust exception against his Minister, that therupon his Ma^{ty} might haue testified his respecte to them by recalling and punishing him, and that they had not by a judgement of ther owne compelled him to retyre, which beinge so vn-usuall a way, his Ma^{ty} doubts will not be cleerely and generally understoode, but may be interpreted to the Kings disaduantage as a declininge in this tyme of tryall that auntient friendship with the Crowne of Englande, which his Ma^{ty} is gladd to finde by the Ambassadour is not in truth the purpose or intention of that Commonwealth, and you are to thanke the Ambassadour in the Kings name for his particular affection to his Ma^{ty}, which he desyres him to continue.—After I had shewed the Kinge your letter,

to r e a d e it in c o u n c e l l

he appointed me 667 . 36. 23. 4. 25. 7 . 530. 532. 121. and the resolucon was ther taken for the answer, so that the very wordes which I haue used upon this argument, were consider'd and perused by the Kinge.—I have bene very much troubled for poore Mr. Douglass's beinge sicke, and am much comforted with your good newes of his amendment: If ther had not bene 3 or 4 persons of quality heare very sicke, as my Lo: Wentworth,¹ Schomburgh, younge Mr. Jarmin,² who hath the small pox, and others, who, would not indure the absence of ther physicon, Dr. ffrayser³ had gone over to Paris to looke to him: I pray when you

¹ Lord Wentworth, of whom some particulars may be found in a former note, was shortly after this sent as agent to Denmark, where he remained until the ensuing year.

² Son of Thomas, elder brother of Lord Jermyn. He succeeded his uncle, after the restoration, in the Barony of Jermyn, but not in the Earldom of St. Alban's, and died without issue male.

³ Fraser was a Scotchman, and mingled much in the religious politics of that country; he also had some political as well as medical influence at the exiled Court. Lord Clarendon, in State Papers, iii. 119, says of him, "I am glad you have so good a correspondent as Dr. Frayser, who is grown (Gods knows why)

go next remember my seruice to him, and desyre him to be very carefull of himselfe that he fall not into relapse: I could willingly be of your minde for the certainty of one avowed messenger, but I finde it harde to lay the worke upon one man, which your passe must suppose; besydes the askinge such a warrant might possibly shutt the doore against all others, and that would not be well, for betweene the English and Dutch Letters, and the particular businesses from this place, ther is no day passes without a messenger to Paris, and an authority graunted to one might cause all the rest to be in more daunger; the conclusion is, that wee will euery Wensday morninge, or Tuesday night, send an honest fellow to you, and agayne on Saturday morninge, and in those two only I will take my selfe to be most concerned. I hope the Kinge of Spayne¹ is not deade, and then the arryvall of the fletee will indeede prooue a cordiall. I haue the same reproaches fro' the Hague for not writinge things which I doe not know, and sometymes that are not.—You must explyne this; you say, I have not yet seene 95. both he and I haue bene to [too] busy. What do you meane by that, sure you haue not bene so, nor does any

the two

wise man thinke you can be soe: I haue 668 . 670 . 559 . 29 .
 memorialls hee the K. by
 2 . 36 . 27 . 400 . 13 . 501 . sent to 668 . 216 . 415 .
 his Sonn which you K.
 502 . 13 . 43 . 30 . 59 . 722 . 731 . requyred and the 220 .
 me

gaue 569 . two dayes since: I will keepe them till you order me to dispose them. As I was much startled my selfe with yours of yesterday, which my Lady Harberte² sent me late in the night,

that the K. had giuen

concerning 673 . 668 . 220 . 506 . 493 . 30 some derections

an absolute stranger with me; he is great with Lord Gerard and Mr. Attorney, but he will speedily leave us and go for England, which truly I am sorry for, for the King's sake: for no doubt he is good at his business, otherwise the maddest fool alive."—He also speaks particularly well of him in the same volume, p. 45; yet Fraser took great offence against Sir Edward, on account of this trip to England, actually asserting that it was Hyde's wish to have him murdered when there, or that he might languish in prison until he should die of grief and hunger!

¹ Philip IV. He died not until 1665.

² Wife of Sir Edward Herbert, the Attorney General and, for a short time, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

quite contrary to what I understoode to be his minde, so I gave
 my selfe the pleasure of perplexinge ^{his Ma^{ty}} 502 : 239 . by readinge only
 the first parte of your letter : and when he was in trouble, and pro-
 tested that he had neuer gaue any such order, I reade him that
 which was in cypher, with which he was wonderfully pleased, and
 exceedingly thanks ^{the Ambass^r} 668 . 95 . and referres the proceedinge
 in it to his dis c r e t
 532 . 530 . intirely 667 . 502 . 440 . 15 . 36 . 23 . 12
 ion
 537 . and frendshipp, for as he hath hitherto accordinge to his
 aduice forborne in the least degree to stirr, or moue any thinge, for
 feare of doinge it vnseasonably, so he very well knowes, that such
 may giue his frends
 an ouerture as this, timely made, 571 . 493 . 502 . 488 . 13 .
 in Holland to s a y
 532 . 192 . opportunity 667 . 13 . 21 . 10 . somewhat on his
 behalfe,¹ which of themselues originally they could not doe, and
 the K. the con d u c t
 therefore 668 . 220 . committs 668 . 428 . 25 . 43 . 15 . 42 .
 e of t h e Ambas.
 23 . 598 . wholly to 12 . 17 . 23 . 95 . and will acknowledge
 the good e f f e t s to him :
 alwayes 668 . 495 . 7 . 18 . 24 . 56 . 12 . 13 . 667 . 505 .
 to t r
 and ther is no doubt, if ther were an opportunity 667 . 12 . 36 .
 e a t e on the Kings be h a
 23 . 21 . 42 . 23 . 600 . 668 . 220 . 13 . 416 . 17 . 21 .
 l f e
 28 . 18 . 7 . ther would be founde reall aduantages yett in his
 to giue with to Irland
 power (as low as it is) 667 . 493 . 713 . reference 667 . 204 .
 and Scotland²
 407 . 363 . and really I have reason to belieue that wee could

¹ On consulting a letter of the 2nd August to Secretary Nicholas, then re-
 siding in Holland, it is evident that this passage refers to the former proposals
 for the delivery of certain places, both in Scotland and Ireland, to the Dutch.

² The King's wishes at this period are recorded in one of the public journals,
 ("Several Proceedings," 28th October, 1652,) in a letter from Paris. "Charles
 Stuart, the Tituler Scots King, lives in the Palace Royall, and still in necessity ;
 his Mother went to Challeau on Munday last ; he impatiently expects this
 peace ; he could wish to be now in Ireland, so he told some of his own Crea-
 tures of late ; so would all about him : yet Ormond and Inchiquin tell him

make Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly
 speedily 580 . 213 . 191 . 407 . 13 . 27 . 28 . 52 . 10 .
 at our the Ambass^r know
 402 . 603 . deucon. You must lett 668 . 95 . 546 . that
 the K. Lord Taaf^r
 668 . 220 . hath this day dispatched 549 . 12 . 21 . 18 . 24 .
 to the Duke of Lorrain
 667 . 668 . 446 . 598 . 231 . (with whome he is in singular
 to con i v
 credit, and is indeede a very honest man) 661 . 428 . 27 . 1 .
 r e him not Holland but
 36 . 23 . 505 . 589 . in any degree to disturbe 192 . 417 .
 on to he will assist
 600 . the other hande . 667 . declare that 501 . 710 . 401 .
 them against England
 13 . 529 . 12 . 676 . 414 . 13 . 12 . 164 . which I doubt not
 he will doe heartily. I conceaue my L^d Inchiquin² (though I haue
 not spoken with him of it this day) does not speedily intende to
 make use of his passe, but will send to you agayne about it, before
 he expects it fro' you.—It is very true ther was such a summ of
 mony lately receaued at Paris for the Kinge as you mention, and
 40. pistoles of it disposed to that Lady, which is all the mony he
 hath receaued since he came hither, and in some tyme before, and
 he hath hope to receaue iust such a summ agayne within these
 few dayes, but alas it doth not inable his cooks and back-stayres³

plainly that those who most oppose the Commonwealth are but Ulster men,
 which doe not much care for him, and are only for their own ends, which if
 they could obtain, would never look upon a King, and that if they promise to
 be faithful to a Parliamt they would be constant."

¹ Lord Taafe was particularly active in the King's Councils, with respect to
 the affairs of Ireland. A Gazette of that day, alluding to the King's Hibernian
 proceedings, says, when speaking of the proposed operations of the Duke of
 Lorraine—"Lord Taafe is the man that manageth the business with the King,
 which is much opposed by the Lord Wilmot, and some others, as a course very
 improbable: and this hath occassioned a quarrel, and afterwards a challenge,
 betwixt Taafe and Wilmot, which with much ado was composed by the Scots
 King."

² It had been intended, at this period, that Lord Inchiquin, accompanied by
 Jermyn, should go as Ambassador to Holland, to prepare matters for Charles's
 reception there.

³ The public journals, in real or fictitious letters from Paris, asserted loudly
 that the "quondam" King, as they styled him, had grown so hateful to the
 people of that city, "since Lorraine's treason, being afraid lest he might find
 such entertainment from them at the new bridge as others had experimented,

men to goe on in the provydinge his dyett, but they protest they can undertake it no longer. I hope ther will be shortly another manner of receipt, and then if you should be left out, I should mutiny on your behalfe : in the meane tyme, if it would giue you ease, I could assure you, my L^d nor I have one cardicue in the worlde, yett wee keepe up our spiritts : ffor gods sake do you so to, and he will carry you through this terrible storme.—My L^d Jermin is this day gone to the Courte, how longe he stayes I know not. We haue no newes, at least that I know. I pray tell us as much as you know of the Armyes mouinge, and what hope ther is of peace. I am,

Sr,
your very affectionate hu^{ble} serv^t,
EDW. HYDE.

S^t Germans this
Tuesday the 6. of Aug.
6. at night. 1652.

This messenger is to returne as soone as the fflanders letters are arryved.

Sr Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

That yours of the 10. of December (which came to my handes the same day that I dispatched my last to you) hath yett brought you no answer, is not my faulte, for as I was takinge penn & paper

and being reduced to nothing to subsist on, and having beggared a multitude of bakers, brewers, butchers, and other tradesmen, on Saturday last departed out of this town with all his family (*nullo relicto*). The Prince of Condé and Beauford accompanied him about a league off the town ; he is gone to St. Jermin's, and from thence to St. Dennis, intending for Holland, where keeping a correspondence with the Duke of Loraine, and likewise with his Mother and his brother Yorke, who are to remain yet in France, he hopes to worke some mischiefe to the State of England."

We suspect, from the internal evidence of this Parisian letter, that, like many others of modern date, it is of London manufacture—" *mutato nomine*," &c. It is not the less curious ! *for in those days the public papers were printed with an Imprimatur from Hen. Scobell, Clerk of Parliament !!!*

to do it on Sunday last, your other of the 14. arryued, which derected me to change my course of writinge, and to send no more to Nantz,¹ but to St. Malos : and indeede I was very gladd to finde that you were bounde for Brest, wher I should haue wished you, notwithstanding any discouragements you receaued from thence, except you could bringe a recommendation from this Courte : for Mr. Holder² writes me worde, that a letter from Moun^r Castlenoe would signify very little. I am confident the letter you haue from our Master, will præserue you from any affronts, and then sure your beinge ther will be at least for your owne aduantage, both to collecte what is dew to his Ma^{ty} upon accounts,³ which must be worth somewhat, and will be easily discouer'd by what Mr. Holder hath receaued from the Duke, and to receaue the dewes upon ther last pryzes, which will, they say, amounte to a rounde summ.—Though Sr Geo. Carterett was gone out of the towne, when I receaued yours of the 10. yett very contrary to my expectation he returned hither 3 or 4 dayes after, and stayed only one night, when I shewed him your letter ; sure he will do all the good offices to you in all thinges he is able. My L^d will obserue the caution you giue him, and will be gladd you can discouer any monyes to be dew to him, and he will gladly giue you authority to receaue it ; indeed a supply will come as seasonable to him as to any body, for when I haue told you, that none of us haue receaued a penny since you went, you will believe our necessityes to be importunate enough, which would be more insupportable, if wee did not see the King himselfe reduced to greater distresse then you can believe or imagine. I perceaue the arrest of ffarrande, is upon some pique betweene the Duke of

¹ Sir Richard Browne was, at this moment, very active in endeavouring to collect the King's dues on the prizes brought into the different ports of France.

² Holder was Secretary to Prince Rupert. He was loyal, and it appears from Lord Clarendon's State Papers that great dependence was placed on him when wanted : yet Sir Edward calls him "the pert, importunate agent of the Catholics." See also p. 269.

³ The difficulty which the King experienced in raising any money upon the prizes, is alluded to in "Perfect Passages" of the 15th October, 1652 : "Prince Rupert hath lately seized on some good prizes ; he keeps himself far remote, and makes his kinsman, Charles Stuart, make a leg for some cullings of his windfalls."

Vandosme and the Marshall Melleray,¹ between whom the contests grew very high, and are like to breake out to such a degree the Courte is not without apprehension, that it shall not conteyne them both to its seruice, and seemes at present, to be vnsatisfyed with the Marshall, and I heare some letters of reprehension are sent to him; therefore this arrest is not like to produce any aduantage to his Ma^{ty}, besides that it seemes the shipp is out of the power of the Marshall. I haue giuen Choquex the papers, and will conferr with him what is to be done, for it is I perceauē true that the shipp and all the furniture was really putt into his handes by Pr. Ruperte,² so that besides the restitution of the vessell, there will be a large accounte to be made: When any thing is resoluēd, you shall haue an accounte of it.

I am very gladd you haue had so good successe in your suite, I hope it is but an instance of future good fortune at Brest, wher ther is much dew, if you haue receaued so little, as I haue formerly hearde you haue mentioned:—I præsume you haue kept an exacte accounte of all you haue had upon those assignations, which I putt you only in minde of, because upon conference with S^r Geo. Carterett, he could not belieue it had bene possible, that upon so many pryzes as he obserued to be brought in, you should touch so little, as I assured him had come to your handes. When you went from hence, and vpon occasyon of somewhat I writt lately in a letter to Mr. of the no profitt accrewed to his Ma^{tie} upon that receipte, he answered me that it was impossible much could come to his Ma^{ty}s owne receipte, when he granted so large assignments out of it, and so mentioned in the first place, what was allotted to you, as if it had bene payde.—Wee know nothings of Englande more than that your ffrench Minister was landed at Dover. Wee shall shortly see what his reception hath bene, and shall then better guess at the effects: in the meane

¹ Melleray was Governor of Nantes.

² Prince Rupert, just before this period, was in the West Indies, and had with him a fleet of fifteen sail, to which eight Dutch ships were joined in October. He is stated in the journals to have captured ten rich English vessels, whilst cruising off St. Kitts. It is a remarkable circumstance, however, that another journal, the "Perfect Passages," places him off Cyprus, and describes him as capturing all vessels that pass him in the Levant.

tyne, we are at no ease heare. My Lo: of Rochester (for that is my L^d Willmotts title)¹ is to sett out from hence on Thursday morninge, he traueells with a small trayne, and hath it in his power to assume the title of Ambassadour,² which I suppose he will choose to declýne, and do his businesse in a priuate way, which will procure a speedyer dispatch.—God præserue you.

I am, Sr,

your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

E. H.

Pallais Royale this

24 of Decemb. Christmasse Eue, 1652.

Commend me to Mr. Holder, and lett him know I have now receaued his of the 13.

¹ There was a considerable difficulty in finding a proper title for Lord Willmot, since his first proposed one of Essex was claimed by Lord Capel, and that of Danby by the Attorney General; upon which, as stated in the Clarendon Papers, iii. 121, "my Lord declined that title, and so his patent is drawn up for the Earl of Rochester."—Also iii. p. 57.

² It was hoped that he would be able to induce the German Princes to advance money for the King's private expenditure; and also to interfere with the Dutch, and render them disposed to undertake some decided step in his favour. The King must, certainly, at this period, have been in extreme distress, if we are to credit a letter from Paris in the "Several Proceedings" of 13th December, which asserts that "the titular King of Scots is reduced to so low a condition that he is forced to eate his meals in taverns here in Paris, having not the commodity of dining at home."

The distress of the King and his friends may indeed well be imagined, when Sir Edward Hyde, not three months before this date, thus expresses himself in a letter to Sir Edward Nicholas: "It is no wonder you should desire to be eased, as much as may be, of all kinds of charges. I am sure I have as much reason as any man living to join with you in that thrift; yet I cannot avoid the constant expense of seven or eight livres the week for postage of letters, which I borrow scandalously out of my friends pockets, or else my letters must more scandalously remain still at the post-house; and I am sure all those which concern my own private affairs would be received for ten sous a week, so that all the rest are for the King, from whom I have not received one penny since I came hither, and am put to all this charge; and yet it is to no purpose to complain, though I have not been master of a crown these many months, and cold for want of clothes and fire, and owe for all the meate which I have eaten these three months, and to a poor woman who is not longer able to trust."

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 22th from Nantes, and am very gladd that you haue passed that parte of your iourny so well ; I hope the rest will be as successful, though I do not exspecte you should finde as good weather to bringe you home, as you haue had to carry you out : The Spanyard¹ desyred me to giue you my thanks for your care of him, which I do very heartily, and conceaue by this tyme he is gotten into his owne Country, and I do not thinke he will euer visitt ffrance agayne, which he hath no reason to loue, but for the English which he founde heare. Ther hath beene yett no letter from the Mareschall de Melleray, which ther was no reason to exspecte, if you had not mentioned it, as somewhat you thought intended ; I am exceedinge gladd that he proceeded so roundly with the English Rebells, as to arrest both the shippes and goods,² I wish they did so in all other partes of ffrance, that they might proceede a little more briskely towards ther greate worke, then yett they appeare to doe, but if I am not deceaued, the English will quicken them shortly, if they haue any spiritts left.

You must not suspecte your frends kindnesse and affection to you, when I tell you, that your arrett is not yett dispatched : you know how little seruice I can do in that kinde by any personall sollicitation of my owne, more then by callinge upon Sir Ri: Foster,³ which I haue often done, and in truth I thinke him to be as carefull in all that concernes you, and in this particular, as a frende

¹ This is a part of the private history of the time, to which there is no certain clue. There were some plans in agitation on the part of the Condeans to persuade both England and Spain to aid them with their arms ; and as at this period there were two powerful political parties at Madrid, perhaps the man alluded to may have been a secret agent in the politics of the day.

² This is an event not elsewhere recorded ; unless it alludes to the seizures of some ships at Dunkirk, afterwards restored to Cromwell by the French Government.

³ Sir Richard Foster was keeper of the King's privy purse, though he seldom was lucky enough to have any cash in it. Vide Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 46.

can be : But the truth is, he hath beene ill since you went, and your Aduocate hath bene neuer with him, not at home when he went to finde him, and the setlinge the kings businesse with the Surintend't (which is yett farr from being settled) hath so worne out the good old man, that he hath not bene yett able to settle yours, which he promises me to dispatch out of hande : I forgott likewise to tell you, that this man is gone from him, which leaues him so much the worse.

I receaued this weeke a letter from S^r Ger. Lucas, under a cover to you, dated from a place called I thinke, I suppose it is somewher in Britany, and I belieue you haue some addresse to him, therefore I trouble you with the inclosed.—All heare are your Seru^{ts} : God præserue you. I am very heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate humble Serv^t,

EDW: HYDE.

Pallais Royall 29 of Novemb. 1652.

The Kinge would have you giue Mr. Richards all assistance in executing the orders for the Patricke & Francis,¹ formerly granted to S^r G^e Carterett : the 10th & 15th are to be payd to the proper receauers.

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r

I haue receaued yours of the 26. of Decemb. and am very gladd that you were then upon your way to Brest, wher sure your presence will be more necessary than at Nantes, though it may be, your company was not much desyred ther : you will I suppose finde the seamen and Capt: weary of that Porte, and therefore you are like to be the more wellcome to them, with the proposicon from the Marechall de Melleray,² and if they were once induced to

¹ Two of the Jersey privateers.

² Melleray was at this moment a great object of jealousy to Cardinal Mazarine, who caused a letter to be sent to him from the King, inviting him

goe to Porte Lewes, I would mooue the Kinge to take notice of it, and to write to the Marechall: I hope you haue founde good store of mony for your selfe at Brest, from the pryzes which haue bene brought in, & that you finde that trybe of Captayns as towardly as Mr. Holder reported them to be, who hath a wonderfull esteeme of them: Though I do not loue to infuse any iealosyes or distrust in any man, of his friends, and those of whome he hath a good opinion, yett I haue reason to warne you, to be a little upon your

to
 garde, and not too freely to imparte all you know or thinke 667 .

Mr. H. o l d e r who a ...
 568 . 17 . 2 . 28 . 15 . 23 . 36 . 704 : trust me is 4 . 699 .
 weeke man in his Religion that

726 . 573 . and so sottishly corrupted 534 . 502 . 337 . 673 .
 hee p r i e s t

501 . belieues whatsoeuer any 34 . 36 . 27 . 7 . 13 . 12 . sayes
 to him, how ridiculous soeuer, and to all these virtues he thinkes
 himselfe wiser than Solomon. Ther are some other reasons for
 this caution, which I cannot expresse at large, which make me

he is not so iust to you
 belieue that 501 . 529 . 589 . 645 . 538 . 667 . 731 . as
 he

501 . ought to be. We are all heare in the same beggarly con-
 dition¹ you left us, which I thinke by longe custome will grow a
 seconde nature to us: I should be glad to heare that Sr Geo. Car-

to Court, and adding an offer of the command in Champagne; but the Marshal was aware that this was an intrigue to get him and his son to Court, they being suspected as friendly to the Condé party, and therefore he excused himself on pretence of illness, &c. He was Governor of Nantes.

¹ This is rather extraordinary, when even the Parliamentary journals in England state the following remarkable facts, in November, 1652: "The King of Scots lies yet in the Palace Royal, whither the King and Queen came to give him a visit, and in abundance of ceremony, to thank him for that great pains he had taken in labouring the healing up of those sad breaches between his Majesty and his people; which Christian office has gained him at Court the title of *Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae Rex, Fidei Defensor, Pericli Dissipator Gallici, Pacisque Compositor Generalissimo*. 'Tis rumoured that the King of Denmark should send him £100,000 in gold for a present, with the promised assistance of him and his subjects in the disputing of his cause against all opposers. The Duke of Yorke is still in high favour, and is cryed up for the most accomplished gentleman, both in arms and courtesie, that graces the French Court. The English begin to be admitted dayly into places of high trust and command; and those shaded Cavaliers, whom the world thought

terett were come to Brest.—God præserue you, and bringe us well together agayne :—I am very heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Paris this 11 of January 1653.

Sir Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue yours of the 3^d and the 6. of this moneth : and you had receaued an answer to the first before the last had come to my hands, if it had bene in my power to haue returned you such a one as could haue satisfied my selfe. I was as full of the sense of the iniury and indignity that is offred to your Captaynes at Brest, and truly so is the Kinge, as they could wish, but you know iniuries and acts of iniustice are not as soone remedied and repayed heare, as dicouered : The Kinge wished young L^d Jermin, Mr. Atturney and my selfe, to consider what was to be done, and wee were all of opinion, knowinge what Princes all Gouvernors are at present in ffrance, that it would not be fitt to mooue the Courte, which no doubt knows nothings of this arrest and restraints, nor it may be of the bargayne and connivance for the admissyon of our shippes (for you know wee haue bene longe without the benefitt of the printed Order you mention) before Mons. Castelnoe (from whome the orders were without question sent, for his owne benefitt) be first spoken with, and my L^d Jermin¹ promised to

worthy of nothing but exilement, begin to be looked upon according to their worth and known gallantry.”

¹ Jermyn's influence at the exiled Court had for some time been very great ; and is thus described by a journalist of that period, in a volume of Tracts in the British Museum : “ The little Queen is retired to the nunnery at Chaliot, there to spend her time a while in devotion, for the advance of some designes that she hath on foot ; she left her son the fugitive at the Louvre, given up to the bent of his Common Prayer Mongers, and of Jermyn, whose power is now greater with him than any ; which is a sure sign that his Mother rules him again, and

doe that presently, and he hoped effectually; but wee finde after longe enquiry that Mons. Castlenoe is gone out of this towne to the Cardinall, nor is it knowne when he will returne, and yett it is thought as necessary, that his minde and resolucon be first vnderstoode: Therefore my L^d Jermyn hath written to him, and inclosed the state of the case, made out of your letters, and Mr. Atturmy hath sent the same to the Duke of Yorke, who wee presume is most like to gett a full dispatch in it, and wee must expecte the answer from thence, and then if there be any cause to complayne at Courte, wee will take the best care wee can, that it be made as it ought to be.

ffor the other businesse concerninge the Marq: of., of which I thinke I writt somewhat to you in my last, Mr. Atturmy and I haue spoken with Choquy of it, who exspectes euery day an answer to what he hath formerly sent to the Marq: and when that comes, or that it appeares he desyres not to make any answer, the Kinge will conclude what he should doe as to the revocation.

ffor your Hamborough pryse, you cannot suppose that I will returne a priuate opinion of my owne, in a businesse of that nature, for many reasons, and the Kinge commanded me to aduise with M^r Atturmy, and upon both our consideringe the case, as M^r Holder sent it me, wee doe not see it so cleerely stated, as to be able to giue the King any iudgement upon it, since it does not

that he hath resigned his judgment, affection, and all to her, because heretofore there was a sore grudge between him and Jermyn, in regard at his former being here [Paris] Jermyn (who then commanded and still keeps the purse) was very streight handed over him in his expences.—The old Court flies begin now again to flock about him" (30th Dec. 1651) "from all parts. Crofts is returning from Poland, where he called himselfe a Lord Ambasadour, and is to be made a Lord, as soon as he comes (as they would have us believe), for his pains in that employment, and for the charitable contribution of our Polish cousins that (they say) he brings along with him. Some of them are come to the Louvre already out of Flanders, as Hide, a man of dignity too, that calls himself the Chequer Chancellor; here is also Bramhall, of London Derry, Dan O'Neill, Fraiser, a physitian, and one Lloid, a Chaplain. These bring newes, that Buckingham and Secr. Nicholas would have come along too, but that they wanted Ghelt; and the rest of his Majesties black guard and retinue that wander in the Low Countries, if they were sure of daily bread for their attendance."

appeare that the goods do at all belonge to any English marchant or ffactor, but for ought appears may be the proper estate of the Hambergheers.

I did not suppose they had suffred you to giue any adiudications ther, and that the former arrest had bene made at Rhemes upon that quarrell : We hope the Duke will be heare within 2 or 3 dayes, and then it will be necessary to receaue his drection upon all this businesse. My L^d Inchiquin and I are upon some trouble with your Landlord, who yesterday was at your house, and expresses some purpose to seize upon the goods ; which we all vnderstande would not only be very mischieuous to you, but very dishonorable to the Kinge, and therefore you may be confident that wee omitt nothing that is in our power to doe, hauinge not a penny to discharge the debte.¹ This day S^r Ri: ffoster goes with my L^d Inchiquin to him, to see how farr good wordes and promises will prevayle with him, and all other courses shall be really taken for his satisfaction, that are in the Kinges power. Will ther be nothinge dew upon the Kinges owne share of the pryces brought in by the Patricke & Francis, that might be employed to that purpose? any order should be procured from hence.

I pray convey this inclosed to Ge: Carterett, who I suppose is not still with you. God præserue you. I am heartily

S^r,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Pall: Ro: this 21 of January 1653.

Sir R. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue receaued yours of the 7th from the good Govern^r and yourselfe, and this must serue as answer to you both, for I am still in my old posture, not yet able to stirr from my bed. I have

¹ The distress of the King may be faintly appreciated from an extract from the *Mercurius Politicus*, 8th July, 1652, where it is stated : " Charles Stuart,

not heard these many weekes from Mr. Holder, but I suppose he giues the same informacon to the Duke and his officers, if not, what he sayes is likely to be belieued more then what I shall informe, therefore I must still renew my aduice to you, that you write very particularly to the Duke himselve, or to some of his officers, of all the obstruccons you meete with, and very particularly of the misdemeanours of the Captaines,¹ and of any such proposicons and expedients which you thinke fitt to offer for the promoting his seruice, and I make noe doubt but his Royal Highnes will as soone hearken to you, and be aduiced by you, as by any persons. I can giue you no intelligence from hence, whilst I continue thus a prysoner, but truely I thinke they who are abroad know little of moment, the Court here being wholly intent upon battels and matters of pleasure, and our owne affaires being in a dead calme, exspecting some gentle gale from some of our neighbours to give them motion, and really I doe believe y^e good spiritt does improve, since no body can doubt, but y^t the people in England are generally well prepared for it. This is all I can say to you, but y^t I am to you both

your most affectionate humble servant,

EDW. HYDE.

Paris 18 Feb. 1653.

The King hath lately bene aduertised by the Gouernment of Innisboffine, that if any Marchantmen will bring corne, armes, or

who was said to be gone in our last [from Paris] went not till some few days after. He made the more haste, because a servant of his was fallen upon, pursued, and beaten, even in his master's place of abode at the Louvre. Hee also was besieged there by the bakers, butchers, and other tradesmen of all sorts, in whose books he is faln very deep; and they feared, if they lost him they should lose their money. But to pacify them they were told his intent was but to go to Rosny upon the way to Roan. His mother marches with him. The small baggage they have is already gone. They give out that they will returne after the peace is made, and condemn this City of ingratitude; alledging that it had bin blockt up by the King before this time, had it not bin for their mediation with his Majesty."

¹ The Duke of York was actually at this period with the French Army under Turenne; and though he here appears to have been personally interested in the affairs of the little squadron of privateers, yet there is no mention of it whatever in the Life recently published from his own Memoir.

ammunicon thither, they shall be sure to receiue ready money for it, and that such a supply would enable them for some time to expect greater, and not to submitt to the rebells. If it were possible to procure any of your Men of War, or any Marchants to resort thither, it would be a wonderfull good seruice, therefore I pray deuice all wayes possible to compasse it, and let me know now the seuerall letters I sent to you directed to y^e place haue bene disposed off.¹

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I am sure it can be no newes to you that Pr. Rupert is safe at Nantes,² and therefore it is very probable this letter may not finde you at Brest, but that you may haue thought it fitt to attende his Highnesse, and offer him your seruice. The Kinge hath sent Mr. Holder some derection concerninge the Hamborough shipp. If George Carterett³ be not with you, I pray send this letter to him

¹ These plans and hopes were soon after put an end to by the capture of Innisboffin by the Parliamentary Army, it being then the last place in Ireland that held out for the King.

² This was the last of Prince Rupert's maritime expeditions during the Interregnum. On his return to Europe he captured a rich prize laden with tobacco, and having carried her into Nantz, in March, 1653, he was soon after seized with a violent illness, recovering from which he proceeded to Paris, and was well received by the French King. From thence he went to the Imperial Court; but returned to England at the Restoration.

The small fleet now under the command of Prince Rupert had been originally re-fitted at Toulon; but having met with losses of ships, particularly at the Azores, where his own flagship, the *Reformation*, had been sunk, and the whole crew of 360 men perished, with the exception of Rupert, his brother Maurice, and twelve others, it was found necessary to return to the Northern parts of France, particularly as Admiral Penn, with his squadron, was waiting for them in the Streights of Gibraltar.

³ Sir George Carteret, a little before this time, commanded a small squadron of the Royal ships, with which he cruised, principally upon the coast of Ireland, and greatly to the annoyance of the Republican Party, if we may judge from their splenetic observations in the journals of the day.

by the first safe opportunity, and if he hath not a copy of your cypher, send it to him, I having used it in this letter for 3 or 4 lynes, which it is necessary for him to understande. Excuse me, who hauinge no letter of yours to answer, for beinge at present so shorte, which you know is not my naturall faulte. Wee haue reason to hope the Kings affayres are upon a mendinge hande, with reference to Hollande.—God be with you. I am very heartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate Seru^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Paris this 22 of March (1653).

Sir Ric: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

About three days since I receaued yours of the 24. of the last moneth, which makes me still wonder how it comes to passe, that yours are so longe upon the way, for it is not possible that the post can be 12 or 14 dayes upon the way from Brest, and so much tyme ther is still betweene your writinge and my readinge. I suppose the Governour is now gone to Nantes, or else he will not wayte on the Prince, which I should be sorry for. the Kinge sent his coach on Wensday to Orleans, supposinge it will meete his Highnesse¹ ther, or that he will be ther within a day or 2 after, so that wee expecte him heare on Tuesday or Wensday, and till his returne I do not conceaue that you neede putt your selfe to the troble of a iourney, and if ther be then any occasyon for it, I will aduertise you : If the euidence against the Captaynes be so pregnant as it seemes by you to be, of seuerall theftes and cozinages, how would it be possible for the Judge to declare them innocent? and though it may, it would be difficulte to obteyne iustice against them in that jurisdiction, yett the declininge to giue in the testimony and charge against them before the proper officer (though it is possible he will

¹ Prince Rupert. This event is much noticed in the London journals of that period. These journals also assert; upon the authority of some runaway seamen, who landed at Weymouth, "that all the plunder he hath brought is not worth £10,000, and the Swallow is hallen up altogether unserviceable."

not haue power enough to cause reparacon to be made, if he had the will to do it) will be made a greate countenance to them, as if the allegations were not waighty; and I finde (though I am a stranger to all that is done on that syde of the house) that the Cap-
taynes are upon all occasyons much magnified, as excellent vsefull ministers.—I am very gladd of that order you mention, against the transportinge the necessaryes for shippinge, which I wonder the more at, because wee conceaue the ffrench Minister at London euery day getts grounde, but I hope they will deceaue each other. —Innisboffin was poorly giuen up aboute the middle of ffebruary, so that now I feare the poore Irish haue only woods and boggs for shelter; I pray keepe all those dispatches safe by you, but you neede not send them backe, till you come your selfe. Hath G^c Carterett a good opinion of Anthonio? I hope ther will be some parte of your house-rent payd ot of hande, but I know not what to say to your assignements upon the Prince, who no doubt will haue occasyon to vse all and more then he can haue brought home, to repayre and fitt out his shipp^s.¹—It is a good and conscientious thinge to pay off any old debts, and good husbandry to discharge those first, for which interest is to be payd; but if I were in your case, I should satisfy my selfe, in keepinge mony enough in my purse to præserue me a yeere from staruinge, before I thought of paying any debtes. Wee do flatter ourselves with an opinion that our affayres will mende, and that wee shall not stay longe heare, indeede I belieue our Master will putt himselfe into some action this summer, and that wee shall not spende it in ffrence.² God præserue you and,

S^r,

your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

E. H.

Paris this 12. of April (1653).

Indorsed by Sir R. Browne:

From Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 12 Ap^l 1653. Received 19 Ap^l.

¹ These were the shattered ships which had returned to Nantz from the West Indian cruise; but another portion of the Royal squadron was now favourably received in the ports of Holland; as is asserted in the "Moderate Publisher" of the 15th April, 1653. Indeed it was generally reported that the States had now resolved to give to Charles the title of *King of Great Britain*.

² This was a vain hope, for Charles remained in France until the ensuing year.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^{ble},

21 April 1653.

Two dayes since I receiued your Hon^{rs} of 12th, by which it appears that it made better speede hither, then it seemes mine commonly doe to Paris, the cause whereoff is, that betweene this place and Morlaix there is noe settled conuaiance, only the opportunity of such carriers who come uncertainly from thence hither once or twice a weeke to fetch linnen cloth. I haue not yett heard one word from the Gouvernour since his going hence : butt Mr. Holder (who yesterday returned from Nantes) assures mee that hee had beene with the Prince some dayes before his Highnesses going for Paris ; and that His H. did also acknowledge to him to haue receiued my Pre by Sir G: Carterett.¹

I perceiue the French minister is nott returned (as wee were made belieue) out of England, which I am sorry for, butt hope God in his due time will doe our worke by puttinge his Ma^{ty} into some successefull action worthy his Royall undertakinge : and shall with impatience expect to heare how in case our Maister leaue the kingdome, I shall bee inabled to returne to Paris (one handsome stepp to which the discharge of my house-rent will proue), or be otherwayes disposed off in order to his seruice. If wee had faire play the Kinges dues here would rise to somethinge, butt with this most abominably shockinge Gouvernour there is such an unpreuentable tyranny in the vpper and corruption of the under officers in this place where we are but *precario*, that it is a shame to see it.

Captain Antonio hath vppon that score quite left this port, and

¹ How very little chance the Privy Purse had of assistance from the assets of the squadron, may be judged from a letter of Hyde's to Nicholas, where he says : " You must never expect information from me of any of the business of the prize, or any thing that is managed by Prince Rupert, who consults only with the Lord Keeper ; and I much doubt very little of that money will come to the King. I shall be satisfied if what is raised on the guns and ship (for all is to be sold) come justly to his hands." Vide State Papers, vol. iii. p. 200— And again, in p. 222, he speaks more feelingly : " The truth is, Prince Rupert is so totally governed by the Lord Keeper [Sir Edward Herbert], that the King knows him not. You talk of money the King should have upon the prizes at Nantz ; alas ! he hath not only not had one penny from thence, but Prince Rupert pretends the King owes him more money than ever I was worth."

will yf hee may be beleieued be shortly with you at Paris, where he hath a proces. Sr G. Carteret will giue y^r Hon^r an account of him ; for since the receipt of your last I haue written to him soe to doe. He knowes what I thinke of him, and yf his owne opinion bee not better then mine, I doe assure your Hon^r it is nott admirably good : and I doe wish the Kinge would be very sparinge how hee conferre any fauour on him until he deserue better then hithertoo I can say hee hath. I perceiue you haue new councellors sworne & a grand new officer with whom I am obleeged to congratulate. God direct all for the best : soe that the generall of our affaires goe well, it matters not much what becomes of him, who is unfainedly and æternally Yo^r Hon^{rs}

Most faithfull, most obliged,
and most humble seruant,

R: BROWNE.

Brest 21. April 1653.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^{ble},

My last to your Hon^r were of the 28th Aprill, Munday last ; the day followinge in the eueninge came priuatly to this towne the Marquis de Neubourg, youngest brother to the Marq: de Sourdiac, with another gentleman in his company ; who immediately went to the Castle, and after a longe consultation with Mon^r de Camper concealed themselues as much as they could. Yesterday in a small fregat ¹ which was goinge to sea with his Ma^{ties} commission, this Marquis, with a Captain, an officer of the Castle, & 150 men, amongst which our turbulent Captain Smyth, imbarqued as priuatly

¹ The journals of the day, in allusion to the loyal navy, say : " The King of Scots Pickroones play their cards cunningly upon the coast of Jersey ; no less then two delicate prizes have they taken and carried to Shawsey Island," (Isle du Choisi,) " amountinge to a great value ; besides Captain Chamberlin playes his pranks notably, and trusses up our pore fishermen, even as a falcon doth wild ducks, forcing them to pay tribute to his young master Charles, and exacts a pistol upon all such boats that fetcheth urack [sea wrack] from the said island of Shawsey, belonging to the French King."

as they could with intention to goe and reduce the Isle of Ushant for which enterprise I heare this Marquis hath brought the French Kinges orders and Mon^r de Castlenau's recommendations. As I presume the island yf taken, will as formerly bee re-annexed¹ to this gouvernement of Brest. Wee are in hourly expectation what the successe will bee, wheroff your Hon^r may expect account in my next, and accordingly I shall gouverne myselfe in the demand of his Ma^{ties} dues out of the tobacco that shall be there found, which is nott vppon this occasion to bee neglected. Nott yett one line from my deare S^r George Carteret: wee liued together like brothers; and I hope he hath nott soe soone forgotten mee.

Prayinge, &c.

From your Hon^{rs} &c.

R. B.

Brest. 2 May. 1653.

The Hollanders bringe more prizes dayly into the ports vppon this coast. Captain Swart, who commanded The Patricke hath this weeke lanchd a small man of warre under the Holland colours; Agent Rameng Coale hauinge undertaken to procure for him a sea-commission from the States of Holland.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue receaued yours of the 21. of the last, and had one little letter from the Gouvernour² since his departure from you, after he had wayted on the Prince: I belieue he is now busy at Burdeaux, yett sure he will sometymes write to his friends, who haue the lesse reason to be angry with his silence, since his wife knowes so little of him, that shee askes me wher he is. Our reportes of the proceedings of the ffrench minister in Englande are so different, that I know not what to thinke of it, many of our friends at London conceauinge him even ready to come away full of dis-

¹ The affair is rather unintelligible, unless we suppose that Ushant had declared for the Condéan party. The tobacco alluded to, may possibly have formed the cargoes of prizes carried in there by the Royal cruisers.

² Sir George Carteret, who had been Deputy Governor of Jersey.

satisfaction, & on the contrary the Courte heare belieue, or seeme to belieue, that they haue almost finished a treaty with them to ther content: if the newes which came to the towne 2 dayes since, be true, that Burdeaux hath declared it selfe a common wealth, and is promised protection fro' Englande, ther will be a quicke end of that negotiacon: I wish wee were ready to be gone from hence, though you were not so amply prouyded for, as I wish, yett I doubte not somewhat would be done towards it: in the meane tyme, I am confident S^r Ric: ffoster hath payd at least halfe a yeeres rent, but I thinke more: I know no new councillours made but the Keeper;¹ and wee haue now another new greate officer, Pr: Ruperte, Master of the Horse:² God præserue you, and send us a good meetinge. I am uery heartily,

S^r,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

E. H.

Paris this 3 of May 1653.

Sir R. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I receaued yours of the 28. of the last, and of the 2^d. of this, together 3 dayes since: I thought all the duties of the Marq^s pryzes had bene already in Mr. Bullins hande, and I told him that

¹ Sir Edward Herbert, Lord Keeper since 1652, of whom Clarendon says, that he "thought himself the wisest man that followed the King's fortune; and was always angry that he had not more to do." His intrigues are humorously depicted by Lord Clarendon, in his own *Life*, page 123.

² A letter from Paris, in the journals of the day, says: "Prince Rupert is in some measure recovered of his bloody flux, but goes little abroad out of the Palace Royal, because he wants a princely retinue, which I see no probability for him to have in France yet a while. Charles Stuart is at a non plus what to do; things do not answer his expectations; his designs faile him."

Another observes: "Prince Rupert flourishes with his blackmoors and new liveries, and so doth his cousin Charles, they having shared the monies mad of the prize goods at Nantz; and in recompence Rupert is made Master of the Horse.

he should, and he told me he would retayne in his owne hands the 15th for you : I will not so much as enquire into what concernes or may relate to the 10ths. nor a worde more concerninge the commissyons, for which I am sure Edgman neuer expected a penny, but Maffonett did, and had reason to doe, which I suppose Mr. Bennett¹ had not : but no more of that : nor I pray take any more notice of it.

I receaued a letter from the good Gouvernour within these 2 days from Brouages, which was the first I had from him since his beinge at Nantes, though he sayes he hath writt others. It is no easy matter in that hurry he is in of businesse and remooues to write frequent letters, nor is he good at itt at any tyme, and therefore you and I shall be very vnkinde and vniust to him, if wee suspecte his frendshipp to us, for those omisseyons, which all men, but those of the penn, are alwayes guilty of : he is sure a very worthy person, and loues wher he professes soe to doe : you heare what a noble confusion Cromwell hath made, by dissoluinge ther Parliam^t 2 with all the contempt and scorne imaginable, and now those adored members, and of the Councell of State, are looked upon by all, as they deserue to be : what be ther next acte, is our great expectacon, and what influence that which is done, must haue upon forraigne nations, who were treatinge with them : sure some notable crisis is at hande,

¹ This is the person of whom Clarendon says, in his Characters, that he was a man bred from his cradle in the Court, and had no other business in the world than to be a good courtier, in the arts whereof he succeeded so well, that he might well be reckoned in the number of the finest gentlemen of the time ; and, though his parts of nature were very mean, and never improved by industry, yet, passing his time always in good company, and well acquainted with what was done in all businesses, he would speak well and reasonably to any purpose.

² Alluding to the events of the 21st April, when he entered the house at the head of a party of soldiers, took away the mace, and ordered the doors to be locked up. A few days afterwards a bill was stuck upon the door—"This House to be let, now unfurnished." The London papers of that day said, as by letter from Paris, "Charles Stuart pretends to be as glad at the dissolution of the Parliament of England, as at the coming of his brother Henry to him, but I think they are both but frolics. He hath received intelligence from Rome, that the Pope will have nothing to do with him, and in no case have dealing with him, as being not only inconstant and unsettled what to do, but unable to do any thing."

worse I hope wee cannot be. All thinges are heare as they were, S^r Ric. ffooster hath payed 500^{li}. for your rent, and hath acquittance only for so much, but no information, what the contracte is, or how much is still in arreare. God send us a good meetinge in England, which is not despayred of by,

S^r,

Your very affectionate serv^t,

E. H.

Paris May 19. 1653.

Sir R. Browne.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^{ble},

20 May 1653.

Yesterday I gaue yo^r Hon^r notice of my being called to Nantes ; this morninge as I am ready to putt foote in stirrop, Captain Sadlington's¹ fregat arriues from the coast of Irland with the bearer hearoff O'Sullivan Beirne,² a person whom I find noe lesse by his owne discourse then by the testimonye of all his countrymen here, very well affected to his Ma^{ties} service : He comes deputed from such of his Ma^{ties} faithfull subjects as yett remaine in the west side of Munster : and hastens now towards Paris to giue his Ma^{ty} an account of those parts ; which though of it selfe it bee recom-

¹ Captain Sadlington was retained in the service after the Restoration, and fell gallantly fighting for his country in the year 1673, on the 4th of June, in the action with Van Tromp. He then commanded the Crown, under the orders of Prince Rupert.

² O'Sullivan Beirne was a gentleman of some landed property in Ireland, living near Beerhaven, and was of such consequence in that part of the country, where the clans of O'Sullivan were very numerous, that he was chosen general of the forces raised in aid of the Royal cause. The reason of this visit to France seems to be accounted for by the following extract from the "Severall Proceedings" of the 30th June, 1653: "From Ireland it is certified, that a party of Irish, of General Bear's men, had a design to have surprized some garrisons ; but, having notice, a party fell upon them in their march, routed them, and killed many ; and Bear himself, with some other officers, got into a boat, and fled over into France."

mendation enough, yett at his request, I take the boldnesse by these to addresse him to y^r Hon^{rs} acquaintance, and by y^r fauour to his Ma^{ty} : The state of whose affaires, I hope hee may by Gods goodnesse find in a condition able to afford such releife as may excite and animate these embers of loyalty into a fire, nay flame, sufficient to destroy and consume the circumambient and the now too predominant contrary of haynous treason and unparaleld rebellion. In which good omen I kisse yo^r Hon^{rs} hands, and rest

Y^{rs} &c. &c.

R. BROWNE.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I receaued yours of the 7. 3 dayes since and yesterday your other of the 10. and returne this by the same hande which brought me yours, which seemes to be very sollicitous and confident to returne it safely and speedily to you: I haue sent you such a letter from his Ma^{ty} to the Marshall, as in my vnderstandinge is necessary, and I hope if any thinge would, will præuayle with him. To haue inserted the memoire it selfe would not haue bene so proper, since it cannot be supposed to be within his Ma^{ty}s proper cognisance. Your letters concerninge O'Sullivan Beare are not come to my hands.

Upon the receipt of your former I did send the inclosed to Mr. Bennett, who hath notwithstandinge not vouchsafed to conferr with me a worde about the businesse, and when I sent to him to know whether he would send any thinge to you, and lett him know what his Ma^{ty} had directed, he returned me answer that I might haue spared his Ma^{ty} that labour, for the Duke had done the same, but I hope actes of supererogation in this kinde will do no harme : it may be he will send his letters under this cover.

Ther is no questyon that I know concerninge your accounte, it is fitt you should alwayes haue it ready, and produce it when it is

called for, and I doubt not you will receaue all iust allowance, and truly I am heartily glad that it hath brought so seasonable a reliefe to you :¹ our Master thinkes of remoouinge, but when or whither is not yett determined. Wee exspecte euery day newes of an engagement at sea betweene the two ffeetes, the successe of which may probably alter² the temper in both Councells, at London and at the Hague, the last still pressinge most vnreasonably ther desyres of treaty. I am very heartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate Seru^t,

E. H.

Paris this 14 of June 1653.

Sir Ri: Browne.

¹ It appears from the public journals that a seasonable supply had arrived for the Royal family at this moment. The "Faithful Post," of the same date as this letter, says, in a letter from Amsterdam, "Here is arrived the adventurer called the Spanish Bark; coming from Rochelle; he hath taken three prizes about the West, which he hath sold in France, amounting to a great value, which is distributed by the Commander in Chief, Capt. Grimes, as followeth—to the poor distressed widow, our late Queen, £1000; King of Scots, £3000; Duke of York, £2000; Duke of Gloucester, £1000."

² The action did take place, and the Dutch were defeated. The consequences, if we are to believe a letter from Paris in the public journals, were very inimical to Charles's interests at the Court of France; for it was there stated that "the news of the defeat given by the English to the Dutch much startled the Court, and indeed all France; those of Charles Stuart's followers gave out reports at first that the Dutch had beaten the English, and that he was to go to Holland, and that they would do great things for him, and the English went vapouring of it up and down the streets, and some of them were soundly *foxt*; but the next day came news to several merchants of this city, besides letters to the Courts (which were kept more private), that the Dutch were beaten, and had sustained a very great losse: upon this there was a great meeting of the Council with the King, and their countenances very sad all about the French Court, and diuers of the English going through the streets of Paris were so mocked and jeered that they have been ashamed almost to show their heads abroad."

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 30 of June by Mr. Holmes, & a duplicate of by your mayde, to nether of which ther needes any answer, my last which you since haue had satisfyinge the contents of those. Since, your other of the 5. of July are come to my handes.

To what concernes the Marshall I can add nothinge, till I know in the way I advised what his prætences are; nor haue I any reason to imagyne that he hath taken any excepcons to your person, only when I asked, why it was desyred that the busynesse might be referred to Pr. Rupert, since being not upon the place his Highnesse could not so easily giue direction upon it, answer was made to me, that it might be, that the Marshall desyred not to treat with Sr Ri. Browne: and truly in those cases, when men aske vnreasonable thinges, it is no wonder that they haue no minde to be pressed by publique Ministers.¹

I doubt I shall not be able to finde a copy of your peticon and order from the Kinge, if I can I will, nor will I do any thinge upon that busynesse, till upon your view of the whole accounte you can see in what state you are, and then I will procure such orders as are necessary; till then it is to no purpose to discourse of it: nor is it proper for me to send to Mr Windham² (with whome I haue no correspondence) to know what you haue receaued from him, you will state all that upon your accounte. The course I propose to my selfe to obserue is, that the Kinge signe a warrant to you, to deducte out of your receipts satisfaction for all such warrants

¹ This alludes to the rapacious conduct of the Marshal with regard to the prizes, and the stores of the ships that were sold.

² Mr. Windham, as early as 1652, had been appointed the receiver of the King's fifth in all prizes; and this by the King's special appointment, in opposition to the Duke of York's recommendation of the Bishop of Derry. The situation was one which Sir Edward Hyde had been very anxious to obtain for his godson, son to Sir Edward Nicholas. Vide Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 112, 118.

which he hath formerly signed upon others, and which haue prooued ineffectuall to you ; and if that satisfyes for the tyme past, advise what will bee best, to order for the future.

Wee are full of exspectation what will be the issue of the treaty in Englande¹ betweene the Dutch and the Rebels, which our frends ther do not belieue like to produce any reconciliation : and then I hope wee shall quickly leave this place, the which our poore Master prouydes to doe. The same day brought the newes of the takinge Bourgue by the Duke of Vendosme and Rhetell by Marshall Turgu, and yett the Prince of Condé is confident the English will relieue Burdeaux.²

I am, Sr,

Your very affectionate humble Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Paris this 12 of July (1653).

Sr Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

Paris this 30th of July (1653).

I haue receaued yours of the 23. of July, as I had before your other of the 16. I deliuered your other to Pr: Ruperte, and he hath promised mee to write to the Marshall, who he sayes he knowes will make no scruple to deliuer those parcells to you and the Dukes officers, which concernes the 10th & 15^{ths}, which beinge done, you are not to make any instances in the Kings name, for the rest, till his Ma^{ty} shall be better informed, and you receaue other orders : so that you are only to looke for the 15. and 10ths.³

¹ The public journals of the time gave a very different view of the feelings of Charles's little exiled Court, asserting that they were constantly engaged "in forms of Common Prayer" for the success of the Dutch fleet over that of England ! Nor were the Saints at home particularly anxious for peace, on the pretence that the "work of the Lord is not yet done ; that the sword must not be sheathed, untill they have brought down the tyranny of Rome, and restored poor ignorant captives to a gospel enjoyment of the universal freedom."

² The Prince of Condé was mistaken.

³ This system of temporizing with the avaricious detainer of the captured property, to which the exiled Court was reduced, is not only a convincing proof of the inhospitable conduct of the French Government, but also of their want of authority over their own officers, if they did not participate in the plunder.

I desyred the Prince to send his letter for the Marshall inclosed to you, but he was not willinge to do that, because ther is an agent heare of the Marshalls with whome he transactes all, and by whome he promises such directions shall be giuen, that upon your repayringe to the Gouvernour (which is all you neede to do) that shall be done which wee exspecte: it is now the tyme that the businesse of the pryze is transactinge, and therfore the Prince desyres that all compliyanse be vsed towards the Marshall, and that wee do nothinge to anger him:—I finde the Mar: pretends the stoppinge the other goods upon pretence of much money dewe to him as Admirall of Britany, upon many pryzes brought into those portes by the owners of those goods. I yett heare nothing of Anthonio.

I know not what to say to your mayd, nor the information shee hath receaued, but I assure you, the King takes all possible care that the house receaues no affronte, and to that purpose hath had a consideracon of it in Councell within these 3 dayes, in which, particular order is taken, that his former directions to you, and to Dr. Cozens, be reuiued and renewed, for the keepinge up the service¹ carefully when he shall leue this place: and I had order to sende for your landlord, and together with S^r Ri: ffoster, to renew to him his Ma^{ty}s gracious promises that he shall not be any looser: I intende this day to send to him to come hither: ther are yett only 500^ls, payde of the rent by S^r Ri: ffoster: when mony can be gotten, more shall: in the meane tyme, the Kinge himselfe commanded me to write to you; that you should if possible reterne some mony to the landlorde, in parte of the rent, out of your receipts ther, with such a letter for his encouragement that he may vnderstande it to be his Ma^{ty}s mony, and sent by his order, and I thinke you will be no looser by it, for heareby I shall be able to keepe off all prætences and importunityes for other orders, w^{ch} his Ma^{ty} hath promised to me. I have no more to say, but that I am,

S^r,

your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

E. H.

¹ Dr. Cosins (afterwards Bishop of Durham) was one of the King's Chaplains, often mentioned by Mr. Evelyn in his Diary; and this relates to having the service of the Church of England regularly performed at Sir Richard Browne's house, which Mr. Evelyn says was always done.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue receaved yours of the 26. of the last moneth, and by this tyme I suppose Pr: Ruperte¹ is with you at Nantes, so that you can iudge what is like to become of your businesse better then I, but his Highnesse seemes to me to be confident that the Marshall will make no question of deliueringe the 10th and the 15th. but it seemes he claymes accounts for the rights of his Admiralty of Britany,² upon which he thinkes ther is a greate arreare dew to him from all those who haue carryed pryzes into Brest: And to this pointe you shall do well to instructe your selfe as well as may be, and whether his Officers at Brest ever demanded any thinge before he made this seizure at Nantes, for in truth I know not how to answer this; if he hath the rights of Admirall due to him in all the portes of Britany, and none of our shipps haue euer payd him any, by virtue of ther deere-bought protection at Brest, I do not wonder he takes the best way he can to recouer his dewes, when wee fall into his dominions: Ther is not the least thought of Ostende in the pointe: My opinion is, that you should do the best you can to gett the 10th and 15th. and you are to vse his Ma^{ty}

¹ His Highness had nearly lost his life a few days before this date, as recorded in a journal of that period: "Paris.—We have not much of newes here; but the river Seine had like to have made an end of your black Prince Rupert; for some nights since hee woulde needes coole himselfe in the river, where he was in danger of drowning, but by the help of one of his blackmores escaped. His Highness (it seems) has learnt some magic amongst the remote islands; since his coming hither he hath cured the Lord Jermin of a fever, with a charme; but I am confident England is without the jurisdiction of his conjuring faculty."

² There were also other difficulties respecting those prizes; for the French Court were at this period, or at least Mazarine was, so anxious to conciliate the favour of Cromwell, that they actually suffered an arrest to be made upon the prizes, the affairs connected with which were very badly managed, as Sir Edward Hyde observes in another place, by Sir Edward Herbert, whom he describes as despising all men, and looked upon by Prince Rupert as an oracle. Vide State Papers, vol. iii. p. 177.

The paltry conduct of Mazarine, surpassed even by that of Marshal Melleray at Nantes, on this occasion, may be further seen on reference to Clarendon's History, vol. iii. pp. 405, 6, where Melleray's is also justly depicted in its proper colours.

name to no other purpose, and then lett the rest petition the Prince (since his Ma^{ty} hath referred the matter to him) to mediate for fauor to the Marshall, for it is playne he will haue somewhat out of it, if not the whole : God blesse me from your ffrench Governours : Concerninge your house I can add nothinge to my last : nor will any care be omitted to keepe up the seruice. God præserue you. I am,

S^r,

your affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

E. H.

Paris this 2^d. of Aug. (1653).

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

Yours of the 31. of the last (which is the last I haue receaued from you) gaue me so much ioy, that as soon as I receaued it, I thought it my duty to imparte the good newes to the Kinge, who upon reading that clause, made not the least scruple that Mr. Morrice ¹ was in safety, of which since wee see no euidence, I pray send me worde, how it was possible for you to be deceaued, and how the reporte came to you : I told you in my last, that it is too manifest, that Innisboffin is deliuered up, so that there is nothinge to be done with those dispatches, but to keepe them. I can add little of newes, only that the Court hath new argument of tryumph, upon a late victory of some considerable party of the Pr : of Condé,² wher they tooke many prisoners and some officers of

¹ For an account of Mr. Morrice, see at the end of these Letters.

² The conduct of the Condéan army at this period was of a most discreditable nature, if we are to believe the following statement in a letter from Paris of the 8th of August, 1653, in the "Faithful Scout." "The Prince of Condé is become very considerable, and exceeds the K. in number of forces, being 7000 foot and 1000 horse, besides the Spanish auxiliary army under the command of Gen. Fuensaldague, which makes 13,000 horse and foot. His Highness hath sent several challenges to Marshal Turenne to fight ; but he declines ; so that he hath given Condé an opportunity to get within eight leagues of Paris, plundering all, his Germans ravishing the nuns, and ransacking all religious houses, firing suburbs of towns, and enforcing contributions from others. He made way so far as to come and dine at his own house, where he and his commanders were as merry as so many Princes."

eminent quality : The Dutch yett proceede very slowly, as well in order to ther allyance with this Crowne, as in any declaracon for our Master, notwithstanding which my hopes are not abated, nor do I thinke a peace almost possible to be made betweene the two Commonwealths, and all this addresse which is so much spoken of, is only a letter from a priuate man, without any knowledge of the Pro : of Hollande, much lesse of the States Generall, who resent the præsumption. Lett me know, whether Mr. Bennett did euer requyre the ffees from you upon any of the Commissyons which I deliuered to you, or how he comes to prætende to them : howeuer you shall by no meanes take the least notice of this question, nor declyne the course you intended, for I am sure I neuer intended to receaue penny fro' them, but would gladly know how he claymes such ffees. I wish you all happynesse, and am,

S^r,

Your very affectionate Serv^t,

E. H.

Paris this 19. of Aug. 1653.

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue receaued yours of the 15. of Octo : but nether know nor can imagyne¹ the reason of your longe silence, but conceaue it proceedes from some such cause as made you wish that it might not be interrupted by any provocation from me : and yett it was not possible for me to do you any seruice without beinge instructed by you in the way, the businesse standinge as it did. I hear nothinge of Choquez, and what his undertaking is I know not. I asked the Kinge whether he knew any thing of the businesse, and I haue reason to believe that he nether hath nor will giue any order in that affaire without askinge me how the case standes ;

¹ Though Sir Edward Hyde was too sanguine in the hopes expressed in this letter, yet the plain good sense manifested throughout, alike above that listless apathy which deadens enterprize, and that hasty enthusiasm which mars it, affords sufficient reason for the King's partiality and confidence in his counsels.

but if you give me no cause to move publicquely in it, it is no wonder if I say nothinge of it and if you do write upon the argument, you will write so that the letter may be reade at Councell, any other advertisements you will put in a paper aparte. I heare nothinge of the wyne, nor know not any thinge of Nantes, when they come away, who are ther, or what they do ther.

The Kinge hath spent the last fortnight in the country at Chantilly, and returned hither on Wensday last; and proposes to goe backe thither agayne tomorrow, and I suppose will spende his tyme ther, till the fayre weather be done: I can tell you little of newes, the distractions I thinke are so high in Englande, that ther must be some suddayne alteration: and I depende more on that, then any thinge that can happen abroade, wher there is little care of honour, or any thinge but ther owne present conveniences. It may be, all the pause in your businesse is in contemplation of the greate pryze, and I would not interrupt that, by any meddlinge in a matter so particular and inferior as the other; but if that were at an end, or I knew what were like to come of it, I would be very importunate to knowe what the grounde of the proceedinge is. If ther be no reason to the contrary, I shall be gladd to heare from you, and as particularly as you please; but if you thinke it in any consideration inconvenient, I referr it wholly to you, and am very heartily,

Sr,

Your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

E. H.

Paris this 26 : of Oct : (1653.)

Sir Ri. Browne.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^{ble},

With humble acknowledgments of your last favour of 26. Octob^r I can now give your Hon^r this brief account of my businesse here on which I haue soe longe and with much charge and trouble attended. Captain Anthonio hath without any consent of mine, nor doe I know with what power from the rest of the witnesses,

payed the Mar^l fifteen thousand livres, and by this means obtained *mainlevee* [removal of the arrest] of all the goods arrested, and consequently gotten them all into his hands.¹ By H. H. Prince Rupert's order I haue now commenced a sute in law for recoverie of the fifteenths, and the Duke of Yorkes interest (both which the Mar^l allways intended to restore without diminution) and his highnesse doth soe nobly support and countenance me therin, that I hope eyther by decree of justice, or by the Captains voluntary rendition, to have a speedy end, & therby be soon able to remit to Paris that money his Ma^{ty} hath ordered towards satisfaction of my Landlord.

I haue (together with money for the charges of the carriage) committed to Mr. Killigrews care, a butt of Canary wine divided into three barrells. The one wheroff I humbly present to his Ma^{ty}, the other to his R. H. and the third to the Lords at Court.²

Soe praysinge God for his Ma^{ties} happy recovery of health, and dayly prayinge for the same.

Nantes first No^r 1653.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue yesterday receaued yours of the 1. and the 4. of this month together, & this day gave the Bill of Exchange to Mr. Deane, who will be very glad that he is provyded to comply with some parte of your landlordes importunity, and we shall all have the more ease by it. I heare the Canary wyne is come to Paris but no men'con of the delivery of it, being conceaved to be M^r Killigrews owne wyne,³ so that I expecte a very small share of it, but have acquainted his Ma^{ty} and my LL^{ds} with that parte of your letter, and my L^d Chamberlyne will enquire after it: You cannot

¹ The whole of this affair is deserving of notice, and strongly marks the jockeyship of the avaricious Governor.

² The politic attention of Sir Richard in this instance shews how fit he was for a courtier—even upon a small scale. How far he was prudent in trusting Killigrew with the wine may be doubted!

³ The Chancellor's suspicions of Tom Killigrew are not surprising!

imagyne I can misinterprett any acte of yours, which I know can not want kindness to me ; your silence was very fitt, and I guessed so much at the reason of it, that I complied with it, and yet (as you say) all is little enough, and iealous natures will alwayes finde somewhat to worke upon, to disquyett themselves and others, and I know no cure to apply to those, who are not pleased with fayre and open dealing.¹

I hope you haue not suffered your selfe to be too much a loser by Capt: Anthonio, with whom you know how to deale well enough: at least if he intends to haue any more to do with us : I hope ther is care taken to giue Geo: Carterett satisfaction, who over apprehends discourtesy from hence, and that he was putt out of the Kinges protection, when God knowes the Kinge resolved to do all he could for him and the other adventurers, as soon as the case should be so stated that he knew what to presse, but it seemes all is now composed, and it is a notable ffyne you have payd to the Marshall, if the commodityes were not of a huge value : God preserve me from such governours.—Wee are yett in the country, which the kinge is better pleased with then with Paris, and truly he hath recovered his health most miraculously : But if the weather changes, as it is like to doe, I suppose we shall looke backe to Paris : and then any good newes will carry us away. I wish you all happynesse, and am very heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Chantilly this 10: of Novemb: (1653.)

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^{ble},

I have here received your Hon^{rs} of the 10th Nov^r for which I sende humble thankes, as bringinge with it the assurance of my

¹ It has already been hinted, in an antecedent note, that Sir Richard Browne had many enemies at the exiled Court. Hyde had many also ; and no doubt all this caution in the correspondence of the two friends was for the purpose of guarding against the malevolence and insinuations of Court sycophants. Vide Hyde's preceding letter of the 26th October.

standinge upright in your opinion : your friendship being one of the greatest consolations I have in the midst of all my sufferings. I humbly submitt the adjoynd for your management : yf you approve not theroff, and had rather convert the summ mentioned to your own use, order it how you please and to whom you would have the bill made : perhaps you may think Mr. Edgman a fitt person to be trusted with the secret, that soe little notice may be taken. The three barrells of Sacke are yett here ; in company with them goes a fourth vnder Sir Gervais Lucas¹ his name, which is a present I make to y^r Hon^r wherewith to rejoyce yourselfe and friends : Only I intreat you that the good Lady Lucas may have her physicall proportion out of it. warmed keepes her alive as shee herselfe sayth. That you will not give Dr. Earles half a dozen of bottles I cannot doubt. The person I last mentioned in cipher will tell you notable stories when he comes to you. To him I refer all. You may beleieve him, for hee is much a man of honour. Being ready to goe from hence I expect to find your answer hereto in Mr. Richards his hands at St Malo's. This is all at present from,

y^r hon^{rs} most faithfull and most obliged
humble servant,
R. BR.

The following is the Paper adjoynd :

I have formerly acquainted you that I cannot make up my accounts untill I returne to Brest, which I am now hastening : In the interim, finding that some monyes of his Ma^{ties} will remaine with me, I humbly submitt it to your Hon^{rs} consideration whether a hundred Lewises in gold will not be acceptable to his Ma^{ty} to be by your Hon^r privately delivered into his owne Royall hands, towards his merry playing,² wherewith to passe his time at cards

¹ The whole of this is confirmation of the preceding note. Sir Gervais Lucas had been a cavalry officer in the Royal cause during the Civil Wars.

² See p. 298. Lord Jermyn's conduct as cashier for the Royal expenses seems not to have been very respectful or honourable towards his Sovereign, if we are to credit Lord Clarendon, who roundly asserts, in his History, that whilst Jermyn kept a coach of his own, and an excellent table for those who courted him, yet the King, even when having the most urgent want of 20 pistoles, could not find credit to borrow them !

this approaching Christmasse. This I shall be able to performe from St. Maloes, if I may there meet with encouragement. This is all at present from,

y^r Hon^{rs}

most faithfull and most

obliged humble servant,

R. BR.

Nantes 18. Nov^r 1653.

Mr. Chan: of the Excheq^r.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue receaued yours of the 18. and since you are so well provyded, I cannot but commend your designe, and as I believe the Kinge does not expecte such a present, so I am sure it will be most wellcome to him, and I will promise you to present it to him, in so secrett a manner, as nobody shall know it but himselfe; and be confident I will never conuerte one penny that belongs to him, to my owne use, in what straights soever I should be.

I like very well your distribution of the sacke, and I will not bragge of my share, nor fayle of delivering the proportion you assigne, and if the good lady comes hither, (as by yours I guesse she intendes to do, though Paris at present is a place of prodigious expense, every thinge double the pryse of what it was when you left it) the vessell shall stay with her; and I there shall be sure of iustice, and I will fetch my allowance in bottles; Lett me only giue you this warninge, that the carriage be payd for, as I thinke you told me in your former that it was, and I am sure I cannot do it, and then, the sooner it comes the better.¹ Wee are full of expectac'on of good newes from all quarters, and I hope some of it will be of such a nature that will call us from hence, which I

¹ The whole of this letter is an interesting illustration of the distresses of a man who was afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, and father-in-law of a King. It has been the fashion to run down the restored Court of Charles; but surely his exiled Court could boast some instances of honour and honesty that would have been immortalized if in classic times.

will be sure to giue you an accounte of as soone as I can : I wish you all happynesse, and am very heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

EDW: HYDE

Paris this 24 of Novemb: (1653.)

Sr Ri: Browne.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right hon.

Mons^r de Varennes, Intendant of Marqu. de Castlenau's affairs at Brest, havinge beene from that towne deputed to the States of Bretany, Mars^l de Milleray did there declare unto him that he pretended nott to abate any part of what belonged unto him in the loading of the fleete which hee had seased, and for *mainlevée* wheroff hee had received 15000 livres. Wheruppon this gentleman came hither to demand his right, and after a weekes digladiation at law with Captain Antonio, the Captain yeelded up the cudgells and gave him satisfaction. My desire to see the issue of this suite in law causeing my stay here longer then I intended, hath brought me hither your Honours favour of 15 Nov. which containge an intimation of something of complaint against (as they call it) the King of Englands Admiralty at Brest, I considered myselfe whether it will be fitt for me to goe now into Low Bretany before I haue once again shewed myself to the Mar^l and received his commands (who they say will bee here shortly) least he againe come uppon us with a second costly after-reckoninge, grounded uppon pretence of not beinge sufficiently applied unto, or of being neglected in his government ; at least not untill I have your Hon^{rs} sence heruppon, which I humbly beseech you to vouchsafe mee, sending y^r letters as you please, eyther directly hither, or by the way of M^r Richards, thorough whose hands I expect answers of my last of 18th currant.

I render humble thanks to your Hon^r for the sanguine part of your letter, resultinge out of the good newes from Germany and England. God of his mercy improve these comforts to us ; and preserue his Ma^{ties} sacred person, and vouchsaef him a speedy

establishment uppon the throne of his Royal progenitors. Soe prayes dayly and heartily,

y^r Hon^{rs}, &c.

Nantes 29 No^r 1653.

The same to the same, accompanying the preceding letter.

Right Hon^{ble}

I am told that the Prince [Rupert] hath now totally settled his businesse with the merchant, and stayes only to see performance. Meane time S^r Gervais Lucas hopes to be goinge with his lady some time the next weeke for Paris, and takes along with him that commodity for your Hon^r w^{ch} I thought would have accompanied the other 3 which are now upon their way. Mr. de Varennes carries a letter recommendatory from mee to y^r Hon^r. Yf hee uppon his maisters the Marqu. de Castlenau's recommendation hath thus enjoyed the benefit of favour and protection in his part, how much more might wee (had not an unhandsome eclipse happened) his Ma^{ties} subjects and servants uppon our Royal Maisters gracious owning of us? beleeve me the Captain doth now sufficiently repent his unprofitable, unadvised, nay precipitate performance of Mons^r Choquere his bargain.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r

I haue receaued both yours of the 29. of the last, & cannot imagyne, how any thinge I sayd to you in my former letter could make you deferr your iourney, nor can I add any thinge to what I then sayd, havinge not heard since of the complayntes, and you must indeed know the temper of those places much better than I can doe: I perceave by what you say of Mons^r Varrennes that wee are nothing beholdinge to the Marshall, who it may be without our frends helpe would not have beene able to have done us so much prejudice. Lett me know when you goe from thence,

and wher my letters may finde you. The Capt. doth well to quit his old frends, and betake himselfe to new who know better how to use him. Wee heare not yett of Pr: Rupertes comminge hither, but meethinkes he hath bene longe absent. Hath S^r Ge: Lucas absolutely quitt his ffarme in Britany, or doth he only repayre hither for health. Meethinkes the comodity you mencon should not be worth the charge of so longe a voyage by lande. The Duke of Yorke is returned hither, full of reputac'on & honour,¹ and the ffrench Courte is expected on Sunday or Munday. I can tell you little newes: our frends in Hollande do not believe the treaty will produce a peace, and for an instance that the States do not so much depende upon it, they have given a licence this last weeke to . . . Ge: Middleton,² to transporte armes and ammunicon for Scotlande, which is a goode signe: I suppose you heare frequently from Englande, where sure the confusion is very high, and it is expected that they will declare Crumwell Protector of the 3 kingdomes, that his single influence may compose those distractions, which the multitude cannot doe, for Mr. Peters himselfe now professes that Monarchy is the best government. God send us well under it. I am,

S^r

Your most affectionate serv^t,

E. H.

Paris this 6. of Decemb: (1653.)

Sir Richard Browne to Sir Edward Hyde.

Right Hon^{ble},

This being onely to give course to a bill of exchange for one hundred Lewis's of gold in specie payable at sight unto Mr. William

¹ The Duke had been serving under Turenne, and had just before this period distinguished himself much at the siege of Mousson. Being disappointed in his wishes to be present at the siege of St. Menchoud, he had repaired to his brother's Court, in order to accompany him during part of his route from France to Germany.

² Middleton bore the rank of lieutenant-general, and was very active in Scottish affairs, as Charles's agent with the Highlanders and other Loyalists in that country.

Edgman, which I haue desired Mr. Richards to inclose herein at St. Malos.

Nantes 10 Dec. 1653.

The Same to the Same.

Right Hon^{ble},

Nantes 20 Dec. 1653.

My last unto your Hon^r were of 10 Dec. with an inclosed bill, which Mr. Richards assures me will be punctually payed this very day (20 Dec^r) at Paris. My desire now is (in case you approve theroff and will at my humble request vouchsafe to accept this poore tender of my seruice) to transmitt to your Hon^r a supply of money for your owne occasions in that now extraordinary deare place, which I am the more apt to beleive in regard that the price of all thinges here raysed a third since my cumminge into this province. I doe nott designe lesse than a thousand livres, and am very sorry I cannot performe it untill I draw a somme from Brest, in which I find great difficulty at present, noe man being willinge to meddle with money, in regard of the approachinge fall at the end of this month. By this abatment in the species I am like to sustaine not an inconsiderable losse, for I heare they have this good while payed the Kings dues at Brest according to the rate the money went many monthes since, when the commoditis were sold (*viz*). Lewises of gold at 12 livres and of silver at £3 9s. And I am told the Duke of Yorkes receivers can gett noe better quarter. I know not why I should nott make the just reparation of this losse as an article in my account, as well as the Treasurer of the States of Bretany, who hath on this consideration lately had seven thousand crownes indemnification adjudged him by Act of the States. By way of St. Malos your Hon^{rs} next commands will find mee, and you may well imagine your presence, tho not possible, will be most heartily wished, and your health noe lesse cordially celebrated.

I am now to acknowledge your Hon^{rs} favour of the 24. Nov. & 6 Dec^r. The three first vessells of sacke are doubtlesse longe since arrived by water at Orleans, there expectinge Mr. Killigrew's order,

who is desirous to present them himselfe. I have allready furnished him with some money towards the charges, and have taken care to defray at Paris the whole port of them and of the 4th which went hence in boate the beginninge of this weeke with noble Sir G. L. [Gerv. Lucas] and his lady, who have quite abandoned this province, the Ladies intention being to goe 'ere longe into the greater Bretany. I desire your Hon^r to give credit to him in many thinges with which hee will acquaint you, for hee is much a man of honour and integrity. Hee will tell you to what degree wee have (as you well call it) had our freinds healp and furtherance in the payment of the 15 thousand livres fine, &c. I did not till uery lately know that my Lord Percy now Lord Chamberlin was come to the Kinge, and I am likewise told that he is much in your intimacy, of which, if true, I am uery glad, for hee hath beene my noble freind of a date little lesse than 30 yeares old. I pray if your Hon^r thinke it fitt be pleased to present my humble seruice and congratulations to his L'pp.

Prince Rupert hath now quite finished his businesse with the marchant that lost the sugar prize, and speakes of goinge hence for Paris within few dayes.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I have yours of the 20. as I had before your former with the bill, which was punctually payd,¹ and delivered to the Kinge, for which you shall have his acquittance, and I must tell you, it came very seasonably to him, and most acceptably, of which you shall heare more hereafter. ffor your new noble offer, I am not in a condic'on so plentifull to refuse, for I must tell you that I have not had a Lewes of my owne these 3 moneths; therfore when you send the bill, lett me know whether you lend me so much out of your owne little stocke, or whether it be the Kings money, for in that case, his Ma^{ty} shall be the disposer,—since my office hath never yett nor shall intitle me to take his mony without his derection.² Ther is

¹ See page 294.

² The delicacy manifested by Sir Edward Hyde in this transaction must surely

no question any fall of moneyes in a just grounde for demaunde of allowaunce upon accounte. If you are at Duncy, wish me with you, as I do heartily. I write to the Governour the way he directed and must be informed when he returnes to his dominion.

I hope you thinke it strange to heare that I have bene in Englande, and have had private conference with Cromwell, and [that you] are not sorry that my enimyes can frame no wiser calumny against me: Pr: Rupert is not yett arryued, nor is ther any newes of the sacke: I shall be gladd to see S^r Ge: and his lady heare. Though my L^d Chamberlyne¹ and I lyue ciuilly together, and I can menc'on you to him, yett it is fitt you write a congratulatory letter to him, which if you thinke fitt, I will deliver. God send you a merry Christmasse. I am,

S^r,

your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Paris this 27 of Decemb. (1653.)

become matter of record in future history, when the party prejudices of the Civil Wars, for such still exist, shall moulder in the tomb of oblivion, like the ashes of those whose conduct and opinions gave to them a local habitation and a name.

The charges to which he next alludes were those brought against him by the Queen's party, who were unwilling that he should execute the duty which Lord Jermyn had formerly done, the disposal of the King's private funds. Mr. Long, the Ex-Secretary, was therefore brought forward to hash up this charge, on the evidence of one Massonet, or rather his hearsay evidence from a maid-servant in London, who assured him that she had seen Sir Edward go into Cromwell's chamber at Whitehall: but the King laughed at it, and was, in fact, himself a competent witness to prove an alibi. Vide Lord Clarendon's History, vol. iii. p. 402. When King Charles I. appointed a Council for the Prince of Wales in 1644, Mr. Long was their Secretary. After this he was suspected of holding a correspondence with the Earl of Essex, on which he went into France, and made great complaint to the Queen [Henrietta]. He was Secretary to Charles II. in his exile, was created a Baronet shortly after the Restoration, was Auditor of the Exchequer, and a Privy Councillor. He was suspected of being a Papist, and a legacy in his will strongly confirms the suspicion. Manning and Bray's Surrey, vol. ii. p. 606.

¹ This was Lord Percy, to whom the office had been granted in lieu of that of Master of the Horse, to which he had some claim, but which had been reserved by the King for Prince Rupert, who afterwards threw it up in a manner the most ungracious. The whole affair, as recorded in Lord Clarendon's History, vol. iii. p. 411, is illustrative of several of these epistles,

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*S^r,

Yours of the 30. of January came not to my hands till within these 2 dayes ; and you haue before this tyme I conceaue receaued some of myne since that date, which have informed you how much wee have bene all deceaued in the imaginac'on of the breach of the treaty betweene the Dutch and the Rebells. It is now looked upon as concluded in a peace, and though the other Prouinces are not yett reconciled to the condic'ons, wee have very fainte hopes, that ther opposic'ons will be able longe to deferr what the Province of Hollande so importunately and vehemently pursues : and I do belieue that this Crowne will labour all they can (and I thinke with successe) to gett it selfe into the allyance,¹ for the facilitatinge wherof I suppose they wish our Master gone from hence, and wee shall gratify them in it, the Kinge resoluinge to goe as soone as he can gett away : you shall do well to hasten all accounts with your Capt^a as soone as may be, least they grow lesse respectfull of the Kings authority, and what they owe to him, when they finde that they are like to finde little protection heare. I am in greate payne, therfore you must excuse me, that I say no more, but that I am,

S^r,your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

E. H.

Par: this 17 of Feb. 1654.

So certain were the politicians of that time of a treaty between the French King and the Protector, that in a letter from Paris, 20 January, N. S. in the public papers, it was expressly stated, " Here is much talk, as if the Peace were concluded between France and England." It did not take place so rapidly, however ; for, notwithstanding Mazarine's politeness to Cromwell, the sturdy *independent* spirit of the latter refused to amalgamate as the former wished. In writing to Cromwell, about this period, Mazarine concluded with, " Votre tres humble serviteur," which obtained nothing more from Oliver than " Your affectionate friend to do you service ;" added to which, he expected from the French King the address of " mon Frère !" Vide State Papers, vol. iii. p. 227.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^{ble},

Captain W^m Arundell the bearer hearoff being dispatched ¹ by Col^l O'Sulleuan Beirne to giue his Ma^{ty} a particular account of his proceedinges hitherto, and to receiue our royall and gracious Maister's farther directions and orders for the future, in case he may be soe happy as (in the present conjuncture) to be found any way vsefull & serviceable to his owne Souueraigne, in whose just quarrell he much rather chuseth accordinge to duty and alleageance to loose his life as he hath allready donne his estate and fortune, than to drawe his sword in the service of any forraigne Potentate : I am desired to giue your Hon^r this summary account of what hath beene here transacted since his arriuell in these partes some few weekes since, with diuers persons of quality, leading men of the severall chiefe provinces of Irland,² about 30 barrills of powder and some other armes ; for transportation of which whole equipage into the south-west part of Munster, O'Sulleuans country, there to make an impression, M^r Holder and myselfe had here prevailed with M^r Griffin, Captain Smyth,³ and Captain Dillon, (whose readinesse to serue his Ma^{ty} on this occasion hath beene very laudable, and ought soe to be represented unto his Ma^{ty} as nott unworthy of his particular taking notice thereof) who in their three fregats had undertaken to passe them ouer & by Gods goodnesse to have giuen a happy beginning to this generous and loyall enterprize : offering further in case they could at ther landinge gett possession of any fortifiable place, fitt and considerable, to furnish them with

¹ There are no historical records of the specific events in Irish affairs to which this letter alludes ; the letter therefore itself becomes matter of history, and forms a link in the chronological chain of that period.

² The hopes of the Royal party, and the fears of the Cromwellians, at this moment, seem to have been equally great. A "Mercurius Politicus," dated 22nd February, says, "The Irish are much troubled to hear of the dissolution of the late Parliament, in whom they had great hopes, but, blessed be God ! their hopes are prevented."

³ How very trifling this naval force was may be estimated from the fact that Captain Smith's vessel only mounted eight guns ; whilst another, commanded by Meldrum, carried two !

2 or 3 peeces of canon out of each vessel : and to afford them what other assistance might lye in their power. But just as they were ready to sett sayle, comes the certain advice that Mortagh O'Brian (to whom O'Sullivan chiefly intended to joyne himself, and whose party was it seemes the principall foundation of his hopes) had layd downe armes ; by which unexpected newes, this soe probable dessigne auertinge for the present, O'Sullivan hath neuer the lesse thought fitt to aduenture a kinsman of his owne name, an experienced soldier, with some few others, and some powder, to goe in Captain Dillon's fregat, *tanquam explorator*, at whose returne hee hopes within 2. or 3. weekes to be able to giue a full account of the state of affaires in that kingdome, and what likelihood there may bee of attemptinge any thinge there for his Ma^{ties} service and aduantage, which failinge, this noble person and his company are ready to transport themselves into Schottland, or what other part of his Ma^{ties} dominions may be thought expedient.

Brest 30 Aprill 1654.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,¹

The last weeke I receaued yours of the 23. of the last moneth, & by this post your other of the 1 of this moneth, to both which I shall neede reply no more, then to assure you that what I wrote to you was not out of the least unkinde purpose towards you, or doubte of your punctuallity in accounte, or opinion that you had receaued so much as people give out (yett, as you say the Duke of Yorkes officers can make a shrew computac'on, and are not very nice of publishing what they conceave may aduance his Ma^{ty}s service) : but I was willinge to be ready to answer any questions the Kinge himselve might be induced to aske ; and the truth is his

¹ Between this and the preceding letter there is an hiatus of twelve months ; during which period the King and his friends, having left Paris in June, 1654, had been resident in Flanders and Germany. The inquisitive reader will find a very remarkable anecdote connected with that event in Clarendon's History, vol. iii. p. 413, and another at page 422.

necessities are so greate, and so like to encrease, that all wayes must be thought on to draw supply to him, and therfore make what you can ready, and I had rather you should prevent him by sendinge Bills before he expectes them, then that I should be required to call upon you: if you procure Bills upon any honest able marchant at Antwerpe, payable to Patricke Garlande,¹ or his order, and send them to me, I can easily draw it from thence to Cullen, or to any place wher the Kinge will neede it. I can make no other conclusyon by the discourses of peace or warr betweene Cromwell and that Crowne, but that the Cardinall² will do all that is in his power to prevent a warr, which very many believe he will not be able longe to doe, and the Spanyard is very much abused, if he be not sure of a firme coniunction with him. I doubte the tyme of our deliverance is not so neere at hande, as was expected. God will send it at last: you may be very confident that I will never cease to be.

Sr,

Your very affectionate Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Br: 22: Apr: (1655).

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 10. of the last moneth, and shewed it to the Kinge, who hath sent drection to Sr Geo. Ratcliffe³ to returne the 2000^{li}. to him as soone as he receaues it, and I assure

¹ Sir Patrick Garland, who was long in confidence with Sir Edward Hyde.

² Mazarine was certainly a personal admirer of Cromwell, and therefore the more likely to be averse to a war between France and England.

³ Ratcliffe had once been thought of by Charles the First as Governour to the Duke of York, in his infancy, instead of Lord Byron. He was a Privy Counsellor, and resided at Oxford during the siege, previous to which the Queen had desired him either to bring the Duke to her at Paris, or to carry him to Ireland; but this Radcliffe refused, on the plea that he dared not to convey any of the King's sons out of the kingdom without an expresse order from his Majesty. The writer of the Life of James the Second, evidently written under that Monarch's inspection, speaking of this affair, says, "which

you it will come very seasonably hither, wher ther is as much pouerty as you haue knowne at Paris. I doubte Mr. Crumwell hathe putt a periodd to your receipts, but it is not impossible that Dunkirke¹ and Ostende muy prooue as hospitable to our shippinge as Brest hath bene, for they say, upon closinge with ffrance, the Rebells will have a briske warr with the Spanyard, and looke euery day to heare that they are possessed of some considerable place in the Indyes, which is at last believed at Bruxells ; wher they finde how they haue beene fooled. I am newly returned hither, hauinge beene kept in my way hither at the Hague by a greate sicknesse, for above a moneth, but God be thanked I am now well recovered, beyonde the hope of many of my frends, and contrary to the wishes of those who are not so : I hope I may live to see better dayes : I haue not heard from George Carterett these very many monthes, though I am sure he hath many letters of myne upon his handes, so that you may tell him, I thinke he despayres, and hath given me ouer : God send us a good meetinge, wher you shall receaue all seruice from

S^r,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t.

EDW. HYDE.

Coll: this 8 of June (1655).

S^r Ri: Browne.

nicety, or I may rather call it indiscretion of his, might have cost his Highness dear, as being the occasion of his being put into the Rebells' hands." When the Duke of York was taken prisoner at Oxford by the Parliamentary army, Fairfax ordered Ratcliffe to continue with him, until the pleasure of the Parliament should be known, and he was only discharged from his attendance by the Earl of Northumberland being appointed Parliamentary Governor to the Duke. In consequence of this early acquaintance, Ratcliffe retained much influence over his Royal Highness, to the great dislike of the Queen, and also in opposition to Lord Byron. He was at Jersey with Charles, and afterwards joined him in Flanders. He was also very active in securing the Duke's interest, when it was reported that the King was dead in Scotland, three years before this period. Vide Clarendon's Life, p. 124.

¹ Many prizes had already been carried into Dunkirk by the Jersey privateers ; and in 1650 the Duke of York had been supported solely by the tenths which the captors paid him. See further a letter on this subject to the Spanish minister, State Papers, vol. iii. p. 276.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

Though it be now many moneths since I heard from you, I had not at this tyme troubled you, if by letters which I receaved the last weeke, I had not cause to believe that one which I writt above a moneth since to you, is miscarried : I then told you how seasonable your 200 pistolls would come to the Kinge, who hath bene and is still in straight enough, since which tyme it is receaved, but not till within these 3 dayes, it being returned very unskilfully to be payd at Amsterdam upon double usance.

I told you likewise in that, that his Ma^{ty} would haue you giue a deputac'on to Mons^r Marces¹ to collecte and receave the duties dew to him in 2 or 3 of the lesser and more obscure portes in Britanny, untill he should haue receaved the summ of 200 pistolls which are owinge to him, and he was well content to receave them this way : I thought it more proper that the deputac'on should be given by you, then an immediate grante of it from his Ma^{ty} to him, therefore I pray (if my former letter miscarried) lett him know that you haue receaved such derections, and lett him have a proper instrument accordingly. I doubte it will be very long before he will out of those portes receave that summ, but the request is the more modest, and could not well be denyed, his Ma^{ty} lookinge upon the man as one who hath done him many services. You can exspecte little newes from us, who have only courage enough to look for better tyme ; the apprehensions the whole Empyre hath that it shall not longe inioy ther peace, and the terrour the Kinge of Sweade² gives them by his inroade into Polande, wher he carryes all before him, proove of no small præiudice to our master, who is therby much disappointed of the mony he was promised from those Princes, so that the truth is wee are no richer than you haue knowen us at Paris : yett trust me wee are farr from despayre, and do promise our selves with reason

¹ Vide pp. 310 and 311.

² Gustavus, the successor of Christina, whose disputes with the King of Poland were a source of great confusion and disturbance to Germany.

enough, that wee shall shortly have good frendes, and see a good turne in our fortune, especially if the newes with strange confidence repeated at present heare be true, of Cromwells death : which I doubt is not upon ground enough. The Kinge and his sister are in a private at ffrankeforte,¹ from whence wee expecte them in 4 or 5 dayes : the Qu: of Sweden is this very minute passinge through the towne, wher shee stayes not, but lodges this night at Bone, the house of the Elector of Cullen [Cologne].

If you are very rich, and can lend me 20. or 30. pistolls, or such a summ, and returne it to honest Church, he will transmitt it to me, and it will come very seasonably to supply,

S^r,

Your very affectionate humble serv^t,

EDW: HYDE.

Cullen this 28 of Sept. (1655.)

S^r Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I write now to you rather to lett you know that yours of the 16. of the last moneth is come to my hands, then to returne a full answer to it, which I cannot do till the next, and then I shall not fayle to do it, except by our intelligence out of ffrance I conclude that it is for the present to no purpose to do it in the way you propose ; as I suppose it will not be, if the peace betweene Crumwell and ffrance be published, which I doubt it is, and then all your armado at Brest will be quickly discharged those harbours, and I heartily wish they may gett off fayrely, without any preiudice or even violence offred to them to obliege Mr. Crumwell. If this

¹ This journey to Frankfort is noticed in the preceding part of the Collection ; it also excited some attention both in England and upon the Continent : for, in a paper of the day, a letter from Paris observes, after alluding to the newly-signed treaty with Cromwell, " In the mean time, it seems, the Princess Royall of Orange is expected here in January, she intending to bestow a visit upon the little Queen, her mother, and bring her all news from Frankfort fair ; what further end there may be in the voyage is not known."

falls out to be the case, and that you see ther is no more worke to be done ther, you will not be the lesse intent, sollicitous, and dextrous, to oblige the seamen to continue ther affection to his Ma^{ty}s service, and to continue ther commissyons, since ther is no greate doubt we shall prepare a better recepcion for them at Dunkirke and Ostende, then they have found at Brest,¹ and *your owne particular will not be neglected*: I hope to be speedily able to say more to you upon this subiecte, and to tell you that wee shall not be longe confined to Cullen, and I pray dispatch such advises to me as soone as may be, as may be necessary to be considered in that traffique wee are like to have with seamen, how wee may give them encouragements enough and yett retayne a competency for our Masters supporte.

I haue not time to add more, having very much to doe, upon those greate alterac'ons which fall out, which truly I believe will carry us all wher wee desyre to be:² God send it, and you shall then have cause to believe me to be,

S^r,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
EDW. HYDE.

Cull: this 9 of November (1655).

S^r Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

Since my last to you, which was of the 9. of this moneth, I have receaued yours of the 23. of the last moneth, and yesterday another of the 8^{ber}. which it may be ought to be of this moneth: you will not wonder that I make no hast in sendinge these dispatches which concerne your Admiralty, which no doubt is now at an end by virtue of this peace, so that if you parte fayre, and they suffer all the vessells to get out of ther portes, it is as much as I looke for:

¹ The facts here mentioned will be of importance to the naval historian, in illustrating a period of which very little, at least with regard to the loyal part of the service, has yet been recorded.

² These anticipations, though finally correct, were too premature by five years!

and if ther had been any more to be done ther, I should not haue moued the Kinge for such a letter to the Duke of York as you advise, till wee had knowne his Highn^s pleasure, ffor for the Kinge to declare that he would abate as much of his fifteenths as the Duke would abate of his tenths, before wee know that he thinks fitt to abate any thinge, were to putt him upon some disadvantage, and ther wante not those who would be gladd upon any occasyon to infuse an opinion of the disrespects of many heare towards his Highn^s. Therefore you should adijust all those thinges with his ministers, before any thinge be moued to come from hence : But at present all that designe is at an end, and wee must consider what conclusyons wee are to make to aduance our marityme affayres in fflanders, wher I hope wee shall finde all encouragement. Whateuer concessyons are to be granted, they must be to all alike, and not with distinction betweene rich and poore, which will interrupt all payment of dewes. I writt to you to send us any advise that upon your obseruance of those people, you thinke necessary to be obserued.

That which wee are sollicitous for is, to gett into fflanders,¹ which I hope wee shall do shortly, and not be without such a benefitt from this warr betweene Spayne and Crumwell, that may giue our frends new courage. I shall add no more, but that I wish you your heartes desyre, and shall alwayes be ready to serue you, as,

S^r,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Cull: this 23. of Nouemb: (1655).

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

The Kinge is so desyrous to pay Moun^r de Marces some parte

¹ The necessity of this step is evident, when we reflect that the second article of the new treaty between Cromwell and the French Court provided against any aid to the *enemies* of either ; and also "that neither of the Confederates shall harbor, or permit their people to harbor, any *pirates* or *robbers*"—terms lavishly applied to Charles's cruizers.

of the debt that is dew to him,¹ that understandinge that ther is dew to his Ma^{ty} frome a frende of his the said Mo^r de Marces nine hundred livres, and from another twoo hundred livres, both which summes are payable to you from them for the fifteenths dew to his Ma^{ty}: since the former order given on his behalfe hath prooued ineffectuall to him, his Ma^{ty}'s pleasure is that you authorize him to receaue the sayd two summes of 900. and 200^{lis} and that you appointe the sayd persons to pay the same to him. I shall neede to add no more, but that you may see, the Kinge hath a very good opinion of Mo^r de Marces, and a sense of some seruice he hath done him, otherwise you would not haue receaued this commande from him, by the hande of,

S^r,

Your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Coll. this 15. of febb. 1656.

Cullen this 29. of febr: (1656).

S^r,

I haue yours of the 31. of January which came not to my handes till the last weeke, and I forbore to answer it till now, supposinge you would not be sooner come to Paris. ffor your men of warr, I know not what to say, they are so fantastical and humorous, that till wee can exercize such a iurisdiction ouer them as to compell them to keepe good order, I care not how little we haue to do with them. In Spayne I heare they haue sent up an agent to Madrid, to offer to engage in that Kings seruice, and Capt. Martin at Dunkirke hath desyred a commissyon from that Admiralty:² But I doubt not, when the Kinge himselfe shall be in fflanders, which I hope will be very speedily, and that by the next post I may send you newes to that purpose: those ffrygates

¹ See p. 307. This extraordinary anxiety on the part of Charles to pay his debts is deserving of remark, and excites some curiosity to ascertain its particular cause. If he had displayed the same anxiety on other occasions, his best friends would have had less reason to complain of him, and Lord Rochester's well-known *living* epitaph would have been deprived of its point!

² The whole of these facts deserve the notice of the naval historian, being totally unrecorded.

which are manned with his owne subiects, will choose to come into his Ma^{ty}s seruice, & take commissyons from him, and for the rest lett them do as they see cause : you shall do well to encourage Capt: Smith¹ and Capt: Beart to gett up as many seamen English as they can, and to come to Dunkirke or Ostende, wher they will be wellcome.

For your owne condicon, I am very sorry it is no better, yett in one respecte I did not thinke it so good, for I neuer imagined your receipte would have inabled you vpon the assignements the Kinge had given you to haue discharged all your debts at Paris, and thought it would haue prooued well if you were inabled to pay those which were most crying and importunate, which God knowes the poore Resident at Bruxelles is not able to doe, but is euery day in daunger of an affronte. I am sure you doe not belieue I envy you any aduantage you haue reaped : I wish it greater with all my heart, and shall alwayes contribute towards it with all my credit ; but trust me I am often putt to answers & replies that I know not how to go through with, when they who know the Duke of Yorke's receipts as Admirall, confidently auerr that the King's haue not bene so little as 5000 pistolls, and enquire how much hath bene paid to his vse. Therefore as soone as you can, send me such an accounte (which neede not be uoluminous) as I may vpon occasyon satisfy his Ma^{ty} in that affayre, that I may the more confidently propose any thinge on your behalfe, which I shall doe very heartily as,

S^r, Your most affectionate serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Sir Ri. Browne.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^{ble},

I returned hither on Sunday night ; and Munday morninge Mr.

¹ Captain Smith was taken prisoner about a year afterwards, as related in the weekly journals. " Letters come from Plymouth which give an account of a good prize newly taken, and brought in thither by the Sapphire frigate. It bears the name of a Brest man-of warr, new built, of 30 guns. He was met

Locker¹ from M^r Crumwel came into this towne, and had yesterday eueninge publick solemme audience of K. Q. and Card^{le}. Hee hath bought a coach and talks of hyreinge a house, and though he thus insinuates himselfe as Envoye, yet it is belieued he will within few weekes produce a latent Commission, and take vppon him the title of Ambass^r: Monsieur Le Comte de Briene² sayd thus much to 668 : 192 : 95 ; whom I was faine to visit *en particulier* by reason of some thinges I left in his hands. *Yf this should cause any alteration in his Ma^{ties} intentions of continuinge a publike Minister here* (as perhaps much may be sayd *pro* and *con*), I beseech your Hon^r to giue me timely notice : that yf I remoue, I may dismiss my house and forbear to make a new household : and I pray your Hon^r to giue mee instructions how to carry my selfe towards 668 : 192 : 95 : whether I shall uisit him in quality of his Ma^{ties} Minister or not ? The French Court will some time the next weeke remove towards the Frontier.

Paris 19th May 1656.

I haue as yett beene onely once at our Court, wher by misfortune I could nott kisse y^e hands of your faire daughter.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer :

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I am gladd to finde by yours of the 19. that you are returned to Paris, and cannot write at large to you upon what you propose to me in this concerning your selfe, and in some former, till wee are returned to Bruges, which I conceaue may be by the end of the next weeke : nothing being possible to be maturely weighed and considered in the moc'on we are in. I thinke wee shall be at Bruxells to-morrow or Munday, only priuately, to uisitt Don-

with about the Land's End, and had aboard two captains, the one named Meldrum, a famous pirate ; the other named Smith, who sailed by virtue of a commission from Charles Stuart."

¹ Lockhart soon became a great favourite with Mazarine. He did remain at Paris, and was very active there in 1659. Vide State Papers, vol. iii. p. 547.

² The French Secretary of State.

Juan,¹ nothinge being to be publiquely declared on our behalfe till the returne of the Enuoy fro' Spayne, but wee haue no cause but to hope very well.

Ther can be no reason for you to discontinue your old frendship and neighborwoode with 668 : 192 : 95 : who truly I believe wishes us uery well, and can do no other then he does : when you see him, remember my service to him, and tell him I doubt not but I shall yett lyue to meete him at Whitehall. I shall now heare from you euery weeke, and shall not neede to put you in minde not to omitt to write constantly to M^r Secretary :² I shall be gladd to know how your frends do in Englande, who I doubt not continue ther kindnesse to you : If nothinge be done by the ffrench Courte to discountenance you, you will not put off your house, till the Kinge giues you full order. I pray informe your selfe who of either Nac'on performe most respects to M^r Lockyer. I wish you all happinesse, & am uery heartily,

S^r,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Antwerpe this 26: May (1656).

The letter which included the examinac'ons of the Spy³ is not yett arriued heare, so that wee haue a very obscure informac'on of that affayre, nor can I imagyne what seruice the rogue (whome I know well) could do in these partes, to deserve the charge he hath beene to them. I heare the Life of Cardinall Richelieu is newly come out, or in the presse, I wish you could send it to me.⁴

¹ Don John of Austria; formerly Viceroy of Catalonia, and recently appointed Governor of Flanders. Lord Clarendon, in his *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iii. p. 478, mentions some anecdotes respecting him and the Earl of Bristol, his belief in astrology, &c.

² Sir Edward Nicholas.

³ P. 317.

⁴ The Cardinal seems to have been considered, by some folks at that period, as a conjurer. An English newspaper of that date, called the "French Intelligencer," says "There hath been lately a prophesie found in the Priory of Cardinal Richelieu at Paris, written by his own hand wherein he foretells the wofull calamities of the family of Stuarts, descending from *the Lyon*, that is, King James, for so he was called, by reason that he brought the rampant Lyon figured upon his breast, in the world with him. He likewise predicts three changes of Government, and domestique divisions," &c.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^{ble},

I did nott vntill now know of your Hon^{rs} beinge in personall attendance on his Ma^{ty}. This ignorance of mine nott onely depriued me the contentment of beinge assured that I had soe worthy a friend soe neere my Royal Maister, butt also made me guilty of an omission of nott sooner giuing notice accordinge to my duty of my returne unto this my former station : for which I humbly crave your Hon^{rs} pardon.¹

The French Court parted hence a weeke since, and remaines yett at Compeigne. Yesterday came newes that the Mar^l. de Turene had defeated 4 Regiments of horse, and taken a small place : yf true, a good beginninge of this Campaigne.

M^r. Locker, M^r Crumwells Envoye, followes the Court : before his going hence he declared to a person of quality, that he had by him, and would ere long produce, a Commission to be Ambassador ; notwithstandinge that I haue publicquely (since my returne hither) appeared in the French Court in presence both of this K. & Queene, and twice beene with the Count of Brienne, yett I find nothinge at all of any the least intimation to retire :² And the other day in conference with my Lord Jermyn, his opinion was that this State would permitt me to remaine here as long as his Ma^{ty} thought good : soe that I expect to heare what his Ma^{ties} pleasure will bee, in this particular : forbearinge in the meane time to engage for the continuance of my house, or to make a new family : humbly intreating your Hon^r, that yf his Ma^{ty} thinke fitt to continue mee here, you will please to move for a settlement of my subsistence upon some good and well assured funds, without which I shall soone lapse into a very sad condition.

In the conuersation I have had abroad in my trauail, as well as

¹ Though without signature or address, it is evident that this letter is from Sir Richard Browne to Sir Edward Hyde.

² This detail sufficiently marks the temporizing policy which actuated the French Court, still unwilling openly to acknowledge Cromwell to the extent of his wishes, yet fearful to offend him by the abrupt dismissal of his Envoy.

here in Paris since my returne had with the French Protestants, I find them generally much inuolved in Cromwells interests, he hauinge dexterously insinuated into their belief that he will maintaine them in the enjoyment of ther preuiledges : a more manifest demonstration of their good inclinations to him may also doubtlesse bee, their hauinge since Lockers arriuall effaced the name of *Kinge* out of the inscription of the Seate for the Inglish Ambassad^{rs} at Charanton, and left only "*pour les Ambassad^{rs} de la Grand Bretaigne.*"

*Olim tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum Epigraphen.*

And in their discourse upon all occasions, they fervently declare their great good wishes of the prosperity of the army of the Kinge of Sweden as abettinge uppon that hand in order to the ruine of Antichrist, vnder that Kinge and Cromwells banners.¹

I humbly beseech your Hon^r to direct mee how I shall henceforwards addresse my letters unto you

Soe praying for &c.

Paris 2nd June 1656.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I had not tyme the last weeke to acknowledge yours of the 23. (whiche I hope you excuse) and I have since receaued your other of the 30. in answer to both which I can say no more, then that you shall be sure of all the seruice I can do you upon all opportunities, and I hope any improvement of our fortune will administer these opportunities :—you shall doe well seasonably and naturally to pursue that discourse to Ld. Jermin concerninge your stay ther, and draw an advise from him hither for your reuocac'on, and then wee shall know what is next to be done. All the papers

¹ Of all this private history of political chicanery the French Court must have been well aware. It may indeed be considered as a sufficient reason for the middle course which they held between the cause of Charles and the demands of Cromwell. The Protestants certainly had no reason to wish well to the cause of Charles.

concerninge Martin wee have, and would be gladd to know what is become of the fellow, and whether he be yett hanged, and what goodly confessyon he made in that season.¹—God send us once a good turne, w^{ch} it may be may not be farr off: and then wee shall have more frends and I hope lesse neede of them. I perceauē your spiritts in Paris are not so composed, but that ill accidents may cause some disorders amongst you, and those people do belieue that your designe before Valenciennes may be frustrated; it is a greate stake, and these as much concerned to preserve and you to possesse it. Wee exspecte howrely newes of some action before it: I have beene misinformed if Cardinal Richelieu's life be not in the presse.—I wish you all happinesse, and am very heartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate Serv^t,

E. H.

Bruges this 7 of July (1656).

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Bruges this 11. of Aug. (1656).

Sr

It is ury true, I haue besydes your last of the 4: of this moneth, your other of the 21. and 28. of the last upon my hands, the subiecte of both which beinge such, as I could not discourse upon, before my L^d of Bristolls arriuall,² to whom you referred me, I forbore to say any thinge till I could speake to the purpose, and he arrived not till Sunday last: and you will easily believe that in this little tyme wee have not bene able to conferr of halfe the matters of importance which are necessary for present consultac'on:

¹ Vide p. 314.

² On a reference to the history and official documents of those times, this letter evidently relates to the hopes and also the plans of the Royal partizans, who were now carrying on a rapid intercourse with their friends in England, and augured much good from the distrust manifested by Cromwell in regard to his own personal security.

Lord Bristol, soon after this, was left as the King's Agent at Brussels, whilst the King and his Court went to Bruges, &c. Vide State Papers, vol. iii. p. 308, 10.

yett wee have spoken of your businesse, wherein I perceiue he is farr from hauinge any positive opinion, nor have either of us yett spoken with the Kinge of it : Wee haue many thinges under debate, which must be præliminary to any determinac'on in that pointe, therefore you must haue a little patience, and be confident if you are designed to continue that imploymēt, prouisyon must be made for your reasonable supporte, and it cannot be most [more] secure then upon that pension, but whether you are to be continued ther I cannot yett tell ; shortly wee may. I do not finde that the Queene or my L^d Jermin haue writt or sent any opinion upon it : I am of your opinion in the matter of Mon^r Lyon, nor can I discover the least footestepps of a treaty betweene the 2 Crownes, nor is Madrid a place of that secrecy, but the Venetian Ambassadour in that Courte would discover it. I pray informe your selfe as particularly as you can of Mo^r Orleanes, whose visitt in this season is not merely upon complement. It is not possible to give such an accounte of our affayres heare, as may satisfy the curiosity of our frends, since if what is intended be not kept secrett, wee shall have little fruites of it : trust me, so farr, as to be confident, our condic'on is very hopefull, and I am as confident that I shall lyue to see you at Whitehall, and serve you ther as,

S^r,

your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

EDW : HYDE.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r

Hauinge replied as particularly as I can in my last to what concernes your owne particular, I should not at this tyme (when I have very much to do) acknowledge yours of the 11. were it not to desyre your fauour in transmittinge the inclosed. I receaued a letter from Mr. Bourdon, whom I well knew at my beinge at S^t Sebastians, and I am gladd that ther is such a distinction made ther, for he writes me worde, that since the Edicte for the turninge out of towne all the English, Irish, and Scotts, there is a seconde

order, that excepts all those that can make it evident that they are good subiectes to his Ma^{ty}, and therefore he hath desyred such a certificate, havinge as he sayes hitherto preserved himselfe by producinge some letters which I writt to him at my beinge at Madrid: I have in the inclosed sent him what I conceive may do him good, and have derected it as he aduised, to Bourdeaux.¹

We exspecte the Duke of Yorke here very speedily, and then wee shall come the sooner to a resolution in that pointe which concernes you. I pray lett us know more of Don Michel de Castile, and of Mr. Locker: I would be gladd you would send me (if you have it by you) the life of the Connestable De Desguynes, which they say is well written. I wish you all happinesse, and am very heartily,

S^r,
your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t.
EDW. HYDE.

Bruges this 18: of Aug: (1656).

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Bruges this 25. of Aug. (1656.)

S^r,²

I have yours of the 18. and as you have greate reason in this perplexed and unsteady condic'on wee are all in, to desyre to know as soone as may be what your owne lott will be, so, you must not

¹ This transaction seems to have had reference to the expected war between Spain and the English Commonwealth.

² The hopes of the Royal partizans now revived rapidly, as is evident from the whole tenor of this letter. The reader who feels an interest in the hopes thus expressed, will be very much gratified by referring to Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 302, 6, for various particulars, especially by the gentle mode (p. 302) adopted by Sir Edward to urge the King to a punctual payment of his debts on the receipt of some cash for himself and the Duke of York. This anxiety on the part of Sir Edward, particularly in regard to the debts at Cologne, may be accounted for by the detail of his own distressed state in that City. Vide same vol. p. 290.

wonder that your frends cannot give you so speedy satisfaction in it, as they wish ; wee shall shortly I hope see the Duke of Yorke heare, and then that matter will be most properly and seasonably consulted ; besydes, the case is now very different from what it was understoode to be, when you returned to Paris, for the Romance of Don Miguell will prove authentique History, and it may be Mr. Lockier may retyre with lesse glory then he entred, and S^r Ri: Browne stay ther with more respecte: there is one thinge no doubte you may depend upon, which is, if you are continued ther, some fitt assignac'on will be made for your supporte, and if you are called away, no doubte your Master will thinke of some other prouisyon and imployment for you. Our businesse does not goe so ill, but that we may reasonably hope that wee shall all have somewhat to doe. The Declarac'on of the freedome of the Portes is now published accordinge to our heartes desyre, and many other evidences given us, of a full affection from Spayne, and if they do not do all for us that wee desyre, it is only because they are not able : nor are they so weake, and unable to helpe us, nor Mr. Cru'well at so much ease or so confident of his new parliam^t that wee have reason to dispayre of better dayes, or that we may not *eate cherries at Deptforde* agayne.

I returned you by the last post an answer to what was desyred from S^t Sebastians, which I præsume you receaved and have sent forwarde. I do belieue ther will be occasyon for me the beginninge of the next weeke to repayre to Bruxells and Antwerpe, and therefore if you please lett your letters be putt under couer to S^r H. De Vic, or Mr. John Shaw at Antwerpe : S^r H. De Vic complaynes he knew not of your returne to Paris, till some letters from you came into his handes to be sent to a 3^d. person. Corresponding with each other may be usefull to you both. I am

S^r,

your most affectionate Serv^t,

E. H

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

St,

I haue yours of the 8. upon my hands, and this last nyght at my comminge I founde your other of the 22. and how longe I shall stay heare I knew not, my businesse dependinge upon the pleasure of others, who will mooue faster or slower as they haue a minde to it, and the ill newes of the losse of Valenza, and the march you haue putt this army to make, by your attempt upon la Chappelle,¹ makes the season lesse fitt for those kinde of negotiac'ons, then I belieue otherwise it would haue prooved ; howeuer I hope some-tyme the next weeke to be agayne at Bruges, and then after the Kinge hath conferred with the Duke of Yorke, I conceaue some resoluc'ons will be taken concerninge your owne particular, and it may be the Cardinall² will finde wee can be as angry as hee, and with more reason : I will enquire of the letter you say was writt to the Jesuite, and I pray haue as stricte an eye upon the Knight, and informe your selfe of him, as you can : and likewise of the moc'ons of the Cardinall de Retz³ which is an intrigue I do not understande : you must excuse me for writinge so impertinently at this tyme, when the truth is, I haue so much to doe, that I hardly gett this tyme to write at all : and I pray lett me heare from you of any thinge you thinke fitt to imparte, I mean when I am fro' Bruges, for whilst I am ther, your letters to the good Secretary will serue us both : God send us good newes fro' England, which is expected by

St,

Your very affectionate Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Antwerpe this 29: Sept: (1656.)

¹ Alluding to the events of the Low Country wars, and the campaign in Italy. The Valenza here mentioned is in the Milanese, and was taken, at this period, by the Duke of Modena and the Duke of Mercœur.

² Mazarine.

³ De Retz had always been extremely active during the contest between the King and Princes. He was the bitter enemy of Mazarine, and also of Condé,

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I had not tyme the last post to acknowledge yours of the 29. of the last moneth, and I haue since, by your to reasonable guesse of the slownesse of all despatches heare, receaued your other by the last post without a date, which was the only one I receaued fro' Paris, all my other frends conceauinge as they had reason that I would be at Bruges, and therby they are all now without any letter fro' me. The truth is, my stay heare hath beene beyonde all possible exspectac'on, and hath so tyred my patience, that though this day be not like to giue so good an ende to my businesse as I desyre, yett I resolute (God willing) to be gone to morrow towards the Kinge, from whom I haue been now aboue a fortnight: Wee are willing to belieue that these seasonable raynes will dispose both armyes to enter into ther winter quarters, and then wee shall do our businesse the better: Ther is a discourse of the Marq: of H. . . . court goinge this winter into Spayne, which meethinkes yett he should not haue leaue to doe: you menc'n your neighbour the Venetian Ambassadour, but you neuer speake of your next neighbour my old friend the Holl: Ambassadour,¹ I would gladly know what he thinkes of these alterac'ons, and whether his old affections continue to us: I haue nothinge to add but hearty wishes of your happinesse fro'

Sr,

Your most affectionate Serv^t,

EDW: HYDE.

Antwerpe this 13. of Octob: (1656.)

Sir Ri: Browne.

playing a double part, and ruling the Duke of Orleans in all things. De Retz also, before this period, had been joined in an accusation brought forward against King Charles, as a mere creature of Cardinal Mazarine. The "Mercurius Politicus" of July 1, 1652, says: "In the mean time the Cardinal, by his creatures, the pretended King of Scotland, the Cardinal Retz, Madame Chevreuse, Monsieur le Chasteauneuf, and Montagu, have plaied their game so well that they have drawn the Duke of Lorraine to declare for the King, and to forsake the cause of the Princes."

¹ Mynheer Borell.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I must give you many thanks for your fauour of the 25. And the greate ciuillity you expresse to me, which I assure you you will finde returned to you, by all the seruices I can doe: it is indeede to melancholique a tyme, to feele any præferment¹ with that *gusto* that it hath vsed to carry with it, and I wish that considerac'on would abate somewhat of the enuy that will attende it, but wee must submitt to the burthen and uneasinesse of the last, without any refreshment from the former: I hope the tyme is not far of, that God Almighty will give some change to the sadd condic'on of our poore Master, and then wee his seruants shall haue abundant matter to reioyce in, be our condic'on what it will: myne, trust me, will be much the more pleasant to me, if it shall giue me any power to lett you see how heartily I am,

S^r,

Your most affectionate Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Bru: this 5. of feeb: 1658.

Sir Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

(This Letter only bears the signature and postscript of Lord Clarendon.)

S^r,

I doe very seldome trouble you with my letters, knowing very

¹ The preferment here alluded to was his own appointment as Lord High Chancellor of England, shortly after the Great Seal had been surrendered by the Lord Keeper, Sir Edward Herbert. A curious anecdote respecting this latter circumstance may be found in Clarendon's History, vol. iii., p. 411; and another in the subsequent page. It was not very long after this that the Duke of York was privately married to the Chancellor's daughter. A serious

well that the good Secretary¹ informes you of all things that passe here : But I write now vpon a particular occasion, in which his Majesties honour is concerned : and iustice and charitie obliges vs to doe all wee can : and though you are not in your publike capacity, and soe cannot move any thing in the Kings name, I doe beseech you for charities sake, to take a little paynes to informe your selfe and therevpon to apply your selfe to my Lord Jermyn, or Mr. Montague² on the poore mans behalfe : and I cannot but presume but they will so farre interpose, and vse their credit, that there may be no further proceeding vpon so foul an arrest, but y^t the man may be sett at liberty ; and if it be possible, with some reparation. You cannot but remember that scandallous arrest of the Parliament of Rennes, whilst the King was at Paris, of which the Court being informed was so ashamed, that they gaue present order in it, which I thought had beene so effectually, that there would have beene no record left of it : nor did I since heare any thing of it, till within those last fourteen dayes Mr. Crowther told mee that Mr. Bullen was in prison vpon the same arrest. I presume y^e Duke of Yorke hath, vpon the addresses about that time made to him, recommended it to some sollicitation ; howeuer the enclosed letter com'ing to my hands within these two dayes, and the King being absent at this time from hence, I cannot but recommend the matter to you, and doe desire you upon perusall of his letter, and the processe, which will informe you of all that I can say, that you will likewise take the paynes, if it be necessary, to call vpon the Superiour of the Benedictines for the other papers, and therevpon to take such course, that such letters of evocation may bee sent, as are necessary ; & that the poore man may bee sett at liberty, and out of danger of future vexation : and I hope the conjunction may not be vnfavour-

quarrel had for some time existed between Charles and the Duke, and a separation between them had actually taken place whilst the former, during great part of 1657, resided at Bruges.

¹ Sir Edward Nicholas.

² After a diligent research, it has been found impossible to ascertain the individual to whom this letter alludes. Lord Jermyn and the Abbé Montague were at this time in active confidence with the Queen at Paris, as appears from a letter of the Marquis of Ormond to the Chancellor, written in 1659. *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 547.

able towards the advancement of such acts of justice. I wish you
all happiness, and am,

S^r,
your very affectionate serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Brux: 16th August 1659.

If S^r George Carterett be in towne, desyre him from me to do
all the good offices he can in this affayre.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

SIR RICHARD BROWNE,

WHILST AMBASSADOR AT PARIS.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS, &c.

THE following Extracts from Letters written by Sir RICHARD BROWNE, whilst Ambassador at Paris, furnish some curious Particulars.

21 Oct. 1642.

Rich^d Browne, Esq; Ambass^r at Paris writes to S^r Edw^d Nicholas, Secretary of State—That by his Ma^{ty}s late speech at Shrewsbury & by other advices, he hears the possibility of a thing w^{ch} he hopes will never come to pass, that his Ma^{ty} will be constrained to sell or engage his fairest parks or lands : that there is at Deptford certain pastures called Sayes Court, reserved in his Ma^{ty}s hand for the special service of his houshold, for w^{ch} being so near London, there may in these intruding times, be persons ready to deale : he beseeches S^r Edw. to move his Ma^{ty} that they may not be sold, but if (w^{ch} God defend) his Ma^{ty} sho^d have just cause to part from them, that he wo^d let some sufficient persons (whom he shall find out) to deale for them, have the first offer, not above 260 acres ; no man shall give a clearer light than he will, for they have been long in the custody of his ancestors, by whom the dwelling house thereon was built at their own charge, & it is the only seat he has, & is the place wherein he was borne.

To Sir Edward Nicholas.

7 Nov. 1642.

That [*in cypher*] doth continue his assistance to the Irish, furnishing money to buy arms, w^{ch} they send away for Ireland; that he has made reiterated complaints by his Ma^{ty}s express order, & in his name, with so little success that it is useless to endeavour any more. The Irish priests as well as the soldiers flock very fast into their country & pretend bishopricks and other benefices by donation from Rome. Col. Tirl is here lately come out of Portugal and hastens into Ireland. Col. Belinge (late prisoner in England) hath obtained his liberty, & is now in this town.

To the Same.

9-19 Nov. 1642.

The Prince of Condé lately sent for me & told me the Counsellors of France had hitherto beene contrary to his Ma^{ty}—excused and asked pardon for his complyinge: bad mee assure his Ma^{ty} he would henceforward do all that lay in his power to serve him, that he would in confidence advertise me (and only me) of all that passeth, and (yf neede so require) hee would himselfe endeavour assistance for his Ma^{ty}.

Use may be made hereoff yf cherisht & kept secrett, especially in regard the French King is not like to live longe, & the Princes of the blood will probably have their share in govornm^t then yf not sooner.

To the Same.

13-23 Jan. 1642-3.

The whole numbers of the Scotch who doe allready serve or have contracted to serve this Crowne, are,	
Colonel Douglas his foot Reg ^t	2000
Earl of Erwin his new Reg ^t of Guard consisting of 30 com- panies	4500
My Lord Gray one Reg ^t of foote	1000
My Lord Lundy one Reg ^t of foote	1000
Col. Fullerton one Reg ^t of foote	1000
Earl of Laudian (is sayd) shall have auncient company of Gens d'Armes	100
	<hr/> 9600 <hr/>

Of these, allready here

Coll. Douglas Reg ^t	1000
The Earl of Erwins	2000
Coll. Fullerton's	500
	<hr/> 3500 <hr/>

The rest expected, butt much difficulty to find men in Scotland.

I have seene letters lately written from a person of great quality in Scotland bearinge the Earl of Laudian's speedy comminge over hither with his Ma^{ty}s leave to treate the renewinge of the auncient allyances betweene the Crowns of Scotland and France; uppon which Treaty many particular interests depend, as, the reestablishinge the Marquis Hamilton in the Dutchy of Chatelraut, of the Marq. Douglas in that of Turenne, of restoringe the Captainship of the Scottish Archers and Guardes-du-corps to one of that nation, &c. relative to which negotiations [*cypher*] and Mons^r de la Ferte Imbault pretends to have in favour of him erected a new office of Colonel de la Nation Escossoise, of the same nature and in all points of profit and honour equall to that of the Suisses.

Mr. Chambers hath very honestly beene with mee and tells mee unlesse the Earle Laudian come (as he pretends) with his Ma^{ties} leave, and that his Ma^{ty} doe well approve of the employment whertoo hee is dessigned, he shall not bee very forward so farre to quit his allegeance to his lawfull Sovereigne as to accept theroff.

I beseech y^r Hon^r lett me receive y^r orders how I shall carry myself in this business.

Mons^r de la Ferte Imbaull is nott only a vehement stickler for the Scotch, butt in a manner also agent for the Parliament here. I have by me the authentique copie of a letter written lately to him by a Peere¹ in the name of the Upper House to sollicit a businesse here. In all his discourse he rayseth their reputation to what heighth hee can, and depresseth his Ma^{ties} causelessly, dishonestly, and maliciously.

To the Same.

11-21 March 1642-3.

Passports to treat for a general Peace to assemble at Munster. ———The Earle of Laudian with S^r T. Dishington sollicite very earnestly here for the sendinge an Ambass^r into England, to treat of an accommodation, by order as is presumed of the Parl^t in England, and Mr. Fert Imbault is noe lesse earnest to bee the man. These three are all one and violent Parliamentarians.

[An inclosure in cypher.]

o the Same.

2-12 June 1643.

By the letters I recommended to Mr. de Gressy's safe delivery, your Hon^r will have understood in what a miserable condition I am for want of some present supply of money, my friends haveinge plainly signified unto mee that I must expect no more from them,

¹ In this part of the original, the words, "my lord of Holland" are scratched through with a pen.

or from my estate in England already engaged to its utmost extent.

By the same opportunity I likewise give yo^r Hon^r notice of S^r Balt. Gerbiers manner of proceedinge here at his first arrival, since which he continues his frequent visits to the Queene, Princes, and Ministers, taking much uppon him, and using his Ma^{ties} name how hee pleases uppon all occasions, not onely givinge out here, butt also writing into other parts (as I have received notice by letters from good hands) that he is sent hither by his Ma^{ty} to condole about other business of great consequence.—I shall be glad to know what y^r Hon^r thinks of this kinde of carriage of his, and whether it bee his Ma^{ties} pleasure to have a pretended Ambassad^r where he hath allready an avowed Resident.

To the Same.

3 Sept. 1643.

[*Cypher*] concerning which moneyes as I treated with 335 . 420 (who hath very much contributed to the findinge out and sending this summe) hee knowinge my case, of himselfe offered mee to move 335 . 501 . to reserve here what part I would towards payment of my entertainment until they received his Ma^{ties} order to put it into my hands, but I replyed that though my necessities did much presse mee, yett I would nott presume to stopp or divert any supply whatsoever sent to his Ma^{ty}. Here is a very considerable
and ammunition¹
quantity of 259 . 82 . 91 . 83 . sent and sendinge from hence, the particulars wheroff are I assure myselfe well knowne to his Ma^{ty} and to y^r Hon^r. — prays for money & to be preserved from perishing.

To the Same.

10-20 Nov. 1643.

The Queene is in a manner wholly governed by Card^l Mazarine, who is secretly leagued with the Prince of Condé, but governed by

¹ The words "and ammunition" are struck through with a pen in the original.

Mons^r de Chavigny ; this last beinge by this meanes though in a close way more powerfull than ever. The whole triplicitly I feare will league noe very favourable influence on England.—Mr. Croft is gone to Rouen joyntly with my L^d V. Mountague & others to treat with som merchants for furnishinge his Ma^{ty} with armes & ammunition, &c.

To Sir Edward Nicholas.

3 Sept. 1643.

— the welcome newes of £20,000. sterling which this good Queene sends to their Ma^{ties} by her Ambass^r.—They offered to put part into his hands, but he refused it, tho' his necessities were great, as he wo^d not intercept any supply sent to his Ma^{ty}.

Much arms & ammunition sent—lord V. Mountague had 50,000 livres Tournois to purchase arms—35,000 only expended—prays the other part may be ordered for him.

To Lord Digby.

6 Jan. 1644.

Delivers the Kings passe for 100 barrells of powder, 12,000 waight of match, 2000 swords & 500 case of pistols to be by a merch^t put aboard his Ma^{ty's} 2 men of war at Havre. The passe was drawn according to my memoire, for the king of Gr. Br. service, but the Secretary of State caused it to be new written, and those words left out ; w^{ch} among many other things I have observed, makes me think those here very far from declaring for either side in England.

To Lord Digby.

25 March 1644.

I have received your L^{ps} letter of 21. Feb. that some supplies of money will speedily be sent to me, & intimating his Ma^{ty's} gracious pleasure to conferre upon mee (not lesse unexpected than undeserved) the dignity of Baronett as yo^r Lo^p has happily joynd

these two together, soe I humbly beseech they may not be separate butt for mutual support and ornament march hand in hand. To attend y^r Lo^ps commands in both I have desired the bearer hereoff Mr. William Prettyman (a younger brother of my wife's) to make a journey to Oxford—within few dayes I shall have better opportunity to express my thankfulness more at large.

I humbly beseech yo^r L^p to represent my most abundant gratitude to his Ma^{ty}.

To Lord Jermyn.

3-13 June 1644.

Y^r Lo^p hath obtained from his Ma^{ty} a grant of the perpetuity here in France of 2822 livres tournois p^r an'. If yo^r Lo^p should not already have made sure thereof, I know not how Mr. Aubert's pretensions may interfere with this of yo^r Lo^ps; for three days since his Agent here signified his Ma^{ty}s order to mee for payment to him of 25^m livres and returning from him the diamond; which sune not being to bee had out of the arreares, it is probable hee will now make a demand of the rents themselves, which if he doe obtain, and that they bee made over to him in that lowe and underhand rate hee expects, he will make up his summe, sweep away not only the rents themselves, but alsoe the remaininge part of the arreares.

Lord Digby and Sir Edward Nicholas.

3-13 June 1644.

The inclosed arret will lett yo^r L^p see that I have at last finished the longe dependinge suite for recovery of a remainder of His Ma^{ties} portion-money longe since deposited here for the payment of certaine creditors & servants of his Ma^{tie}. The rents or perpetuity tenn yeares since bought with this money, with the arrears of the sayd rents, I have been forced to wrest out of violent hands uppon the best terms I could; for to say the truth, they were in a manner swallowed up by some greedy cormorants in too great place and power here, who never thought to have thus regorged

them to their true owner his Ma^{ty}. Of the tenn yeares arreares of 2822 livres p' an. there are little above seaven at present to bee found in ready money (the rest being nott yet payed), which present money will all be disposed off partly by the arret itselfe, and partly for necessary compositions, charges, and gratuities (as shall appeare by my just and good account), so that to his Ma^{ties} profit there will come cleare only the perpetuity or rents themselves, and betweene two or three yeares arreares. These rents stand his Ma^{ty} in twelve yeares purchase, but by reason of the seasures the late French King and this have since these warres made uppon rents of this nature, and of the uncertaine condition of these times, they will not now bee sold at so good a rate as they may improve to after a general peace.

To Lord Digby.

7-17 June 1644.

Writes earnestly for money—inevitable ruin must befall him—has not wherewithall to provide himself out of mourning, a new Coat and Liveries, w^{ch} will much tend to his Ma^{ties} disreputation —“I appeall to all the world whether I have not in this absolutely dearest part of Christendom for these three yeares maintained his Ma^{ties} honour beyond what could be expected from my quality in these distracted times, my estate lying all in Kent and Essex yielding little or nothing, the moneys I take upp comeing uppon much disadvantage, and a constant great interest paid.”

To Lord Jermin.

Right Hon^{ble} my singular good Lord.

Accordinge to y^r Lo^{ps} command to send you the English newes, I now begin by this opportunity of Mr Besse's departure : What London affords this inclosed printed will acquaint y^r Lo^p. Besides which the letters containe little or nothings, onely some hopes of misunderstandinge and diuisions amonge the Parliamentary Generalls.

Yesterday the Pr: Elector Pal. his Agent came to acquaint mee that His Elec: High: hee thought was by this time in London: and to declare the cause of his iourney thither to bee, partly to see what aduantages he might reape to himselfe from His Ma^{ty} and Parl: according to both their promises, in case they treated an accommodac'on; & partly to sollicit some supplies of money for y^e Queene his mother and himselfe, without which they can neyther of them subsist any longer. And this hee desired mee to write to their Ma^{ties}. And I thinke the same excusatory account will bee brought within fewe dayes to y^r Court by Pr. Edward, who was also yesterday with mee to consult where he might most speedily and most conueniently find His Ma^{ty}.

The Duke of Orleans is on his way hither, and yf what I heare be true, will visit his Ma^{ty} ere long at Bourbon. Of the Duke d'Anguien's action at Fribourg, I will nott giue an account till the lame Post bee come, and then I shall send it by a speedier conueyance. It shall suffice that by this sure hand I present my humble seruice to yo^r Lo^p. and giue assurance of my diligent endeauours to obey y^r commands. Beseeching y^r Lo^p to take some speedy care for the subsistance of a creature of yours whose sole ambition it is to bee vsefull to you: Many haue allready passed by and pitied his condition; butt y^r Lo^p is the Samaritan from whom alone his vrgent necessities expect that balme must cure them. In which happy omen I take the boldnesse to kisse y^r Lo^p's hands in quality off,

Y^r Lo^p's,

Most faithfull humble Ser^t,

RICHARD BROWNE.

Paris-19. Aug. 1644.

S^r,

After seuerall negotiations betweene the Palais Cardinal and the Court of Parliament, the Queene Regent vppon Tewsday last signified to the Parlam^t that being well informed of their good intentions and sincerity, she approued of their proceedings, willinge them to meet frequently and to continew dilligently their consul-

tations for the publique good ; wthall acquaintinge them, that the Ennemy was vpon the ffrontier, and that the King wanted mony, wherefore they might doe well to bringe their resolutions to maturity wthin the space of 8 dayes : since w^{ch} satisfactory answere the Parlament is uery busy in finding meanes how to reforme the abuses in the gouernment chiefly in that of the Kings reuenues, in which worke the rest of the Parlements of ffrance will doubtlesse comply wth this of Paris. And some great Ministers may perhaps be sacrificed to the people, who have already confessed their feares by disfurnishinge their houses of their choicest moueables.

Heere is all possible care taken to furnish the Prince of Condé wth mony, and heere is also much seeking after horses to sende to him, wherewith to remount his Caualliers ; the Prince is wth his army neere Guize, where he hath lately arrested a gent' of Piccardy (whose name is Ragny) for hauing giuen intelligence to the Spaniard, and hauing drawne great pensions from them any time this 6 or 7 yeares.

The ffrench ffeet consistinge of 13 shippes and 19 gallies hath presented it selfe vpon the coast of Naples, but as yet wthout any success at all.

This weeke hath safely brought hither Mr. Langton, with all your noble tokens, for all which (particularly for the rare booke to mee) I render you my hearty acknowledgements, as also your two letters of 15. & 19. June, containinge (as allways of late) feares and hopes. God in his mercy direct thinges to some tolerable end or other. I wrote to Mr. Spencer this day seauenight, as to you also ; and hope it went safe, though I find some of the former Post (none of mine, for I wrote nott) were intercepted. Our Prince beinge disappointed of the somme of money hee expected from the French for his iourney, goes the beginninge of the next weeke to Callice, butt with lesse traine than hee intended, which is all I can say to you of that matter, onely that all his Ma^{ties} Priuie Councillors in France haue orders to attend his High^{ness} at Callice : my Lord Treasurer, Lord Bristoll, Sir Ed. Nicholas, are on their way thither.

Our best respects to the good company with you in the Country : where I hope you injoy yourselues, and amongst other

diuertisments with that of haymakinge, the season for which now approaches ; and ought (yf you haue there had soe wett a growinge time as here) to afford you store of exercise. Farewell,
D. S.

Yours for euer.

Paris 4. July 1648.

From Sir Ric: Browne.

S^r,

I know not yet what judgment to make, or what the euent will bee of the affaires now in agitation betweene our Royall and our pleadinge Pallace heere. For notwthstandinge that the exiled members of the Parlament be restored ; that the reuocation of the Intendants out of the Prouinces bee resolued (three onely expected) namely, in the Lyonnois, in Champaigne, and in Piccardy, where theire employment is restraned onely to the affaires of the armies, and that y^e Queene hath condescended to y^e erection of a Chamber of Justice, as they terme it, w^{ch} is to consist of a selected number of Parliament men, whereof the Kinge (to saue the reputac'on of his authority) is to haue the nomination, and is established to inquire, and informe against financiers, partisans, and others that haue misbehaued themselves: yet it will be a difficult matter to reconcile other differences, for there is much dispute about the remittinge y^e arrears of the Tailles of y^e yeares 44, 45, and 46, and about abatinge of the 8th part of the Tailles of the yeare 47, and the fourth part of 48 and 49 ; about the regulating the impositions vpon the entry of merchandises, about the reuokinge those Edicts by which the rents vpon the Towne house and the wages of Officers are diuerted to the Kings vse, and generally whatsoever almost hath passed wthout the verificac'on of the Parlament, is subject to question. Nor is the Counsell altogeather compliant wth the Court of Parlament, hauing lately by their arrest cashiered an arrest of Parlament against the Dutchesse of Aiguillon. Nor is the Parlament vndiuided in ittselfe, the Kinge hauinge a party there amongst whome the S^r Boulanger, Conc^r. in the first

Chamber, two daies since pleadinge very earnestly on the Kings side, in behalfe of the Partisans in whose handes he is sayd to haue great sum'es of money, fell downe dead in the House, wherevpon the Duke of Orleans retired, the meeting dissolued, and the people conclude this blow to bee a judgment of God vpon him for defendinge soe bad a cause.

Mars^{ll} de Gramont is come hither, whose privat businesse being not yet knowne, what appears is that he hath addressed himselfe to the Parlament to acquainte them wth the necessities of the army, and to demand supplyes of them, seeing all other meanes of raysinge monyes are now, by their stirringe, soe disordered, that the new sur-intendant can neither by intreatyes or threats dispose the partizans to aduance one penny till they see farther what settlement these disputes will produce.

The ffrench ffeet is returned from the coast of Naples (not hauinge made any impression at all vpon that people) to Piombino & Portolongone. Nor doe I heare that Prince Thomas is yet embarqued.

My Lord Jermin went hence towards Callice Munday last. The Queene is returned to St. Germaines. My Lord Marq^s of Ormond prepares for Irland. And my Lⁱ Marq^s of Newcastle goes next weeke towards Holand by the way of Flanders, with his Lady, &c. God blesse you and vs. And send vs a happy meetinge.

Yours euer to loue and serue you.

Paris, 18 July 1648.

From Sir Ri. Browne.

Sr,

The businesse of the Parlament this weeke hath been to deliberate vpon, and examine the declaration w^{ch} the King brought them, hauinge appointed fower of theire members to make report thereof vpon the 16th of this moneth ; in the mean tyme they make great difficulty to obey that part thereof, wherein the King commaundes them not to assemble any more in the Chambre St. Lewis ;

and this notwithstanding that the Duke of Orleans hath seuerall tymes beene wth them to maintaine the King's authority, and to vrge the conueniency, yf not the necessity, of their obedience ; so that, by what yet appeares, the Parlam^t yf they meete not in the Chambre St. Lewis yet they will doe their businesse in some other place, and perhaps at last make a foule house ; for that is certaine, that some other Parlements of ffraunce doe manifestly declare and followe their example.

The Prince of Condé findinge great difficultyes in the reliefe of Tourné¹ is encamped at Bethune, there expectinge the succors y^t Erlack, Vaubecour, and others are to bring to him.

At Naples the affaires betweene the King and people (ill satisfied wth the Spaniards non-performance of treaty, and murmoringe by reason of the scarcety of bread) are againe fallen into great disorder ; insomuch as it is thought the ffrench ffeet may therevpon make yet an other journey to attempte some new impression in that Kingdome. The newes of the seidge of Cremona is confirmed, not wthout hopes of the speedy takinge thereof.

The Marquis of Ormond is vpon his departure for Irland. Wee are here, God be prayسد, in good health. Butt when will our deare Brother William come ? I am glad to heare our cottage hath beene dignified with such good company as your brother, to whom I longe to present my seruice. Our honest cousin Stefens (who will well deserue your acquaintance, and whom I recommend vnto your affection) will perhaps by that time these come to you, bee arriued. Which yf hee bee, I pray present my seruice to him, and soe with our relatiue cordiall affections, I rest

Yours euer.

Paris, 8 Augst 1648.

Our Court wants money, and liues very quietly at St. Germaines : where no peere appeares but my Lord Jermin. The Lord Marq. of Worster, the Lords Digby & Hatton, though yett in France, yett liue for the most part in Paris.

From Sir Ri. Browne.

¹ Which is lost.

Sr,

Since y^e Com'ittinge of the King's declaration to fower Members of the Parlament, to bee by them examined wth order to make reporte thereof on Munday next, the Parlament hath followed theire ordinary course of businesse, and this interim seemes to bee a kind of truce betweene the Royall and y^e pleading Pallace.

The losse of Tourné hath not yet exasperated y^e Prince of Condé into any newe vndertakinge against the Spaniard, w^{ch} now vpon y^e joyninge of Erlack's troops vnto him, it is expected hee shoulde, soe that probably wee shall soone heare of his remoue from Bethune. In this stationary, or rather retrograde, condition of the ffrench affaires in fflanders, the certaine expectation of the taking Cremona, and the weaknesse of the Spaniard in Catalonia, are very considerable supports ; but aboue all, the relaps of Naples into (as they heere thinke) a more desperate state than euer, doth raise theire mindes, and giues here great hopes of the losse of that Kingdome to the Spaniard. In order to w^{ch} the ffrench ffeet hath set saile for L'Abruzzo, there to joyne wth the Conte de Conuersano, who hath reuiued y^t rebellion and is at the head of a considerable army.

The Com'andeur de Souuray prepares for his journey into Holland, in quality of Ambassador from the Religion of Malta, there to demande restitution of the Com'andaries, w^{ch} the States of Holland doe possesse.

The Duke of Beaufort (who 'tis thought hath not beene out of ffrance) attended wth 40 or 50 horse, hath lately (as is saide) appeared in Brittany, wherevpon there are some troopes sent thither, and into Normandy, to secure those Provinces. And to Card^l Mazarin they speake of giuiuge a guard of 100 horse, for the safety of his person.

The Marquiss of Ormond two daies since begane his journey towards Ireland.

Thankes for yours of 28 & 31. most wellcome. All your relations here salute you most cordially. To my brother yff nott com away, & to my cousin S^t. yf arriued, present my loue and



CARDINAL MAZARIN.

service, the like to all the good company with you. Farwell, my deare S.

Yours for euer louinge.

Paris. 15 Aug. 1648.

From Sir Ri: Browne.

S^r,

Yf thorough the difficult and hazardous passage, these lines come safe to you, they will conuey my serious and hearty congratulations of that condition you are now in neere his Ma^{ty}, wherein his gracious fauour and your owne merit haue concurrently placed you. Though I haue receiued noe letter from you since your arrivall in Schotland, yett I injoy the fruits of your care and kindnesse towards mee, witnesse the two warrants of his Ma^{tie}, dated y^e 4 Aprill 3^o Car. 1651, directed to Prince Rupert and to Mr. Windam in my behalfe, for which, as I render all humble acknowledgements to my most Gracious and Royall Maister, soe, I giue you also my hearty thanks for beinge soe happily instrumentall in a concernment of mine, though hithertoo neyther of them haue proued any way aduantageous unto mee, for I can giue noe account where Pr. Rupert is since his comminge into the Ocean, and takinge some rich shippes belonginge to the Kinge of Spaine, and to the Genoese : And when I addresse any demands to Mr. Windham, hee makes mee noe returne butt these kind of warrants, such as the inclosed, of which he hath many. Soe that unlesse his Ma^{ty} be pleased eyther to thinke of some other way of supply for mee, or direct some more effectuall commands to Mr. Windam, your kinsman and his family must (for ought I see) begge bread (or starue) in the streetes of Paris. In March last Mr. Windam assigned mee a thousand guilders of Dunkirke money, which makes little aboue fourescore pistolls here. Butt the man (one John Arden) in whose hands he had deposited the prize goods, out of which this summ was to bee raysed, is soe insoluent that he lyes in prison eyther nott able or not willinge to giue any satisfaction. The truth of this will bee confirmed to you by word of mouth by Mr. Edgman, of whose

safe arriuall with you, and returne into these parts, I should be gladd to heare.

The affaires of this kingdome are in a dubious condition, occasioned chiefly by reason of some jealousies betweene the Queene Regent and the Princes ; to which the neere approachinge majority (the 6th. 7^r.) will, in probability giue a period, one way or other, by a more firme settlement of the authority, ministry, and direction of affaires. As for the aspect towards vs, all I can say to you is, it will bee answerable to the successe of his Ma^{ties} affaires in schottland, vppon which they here looke as the North Pole-starre by which they intend to steere. Our good Queene spends much of her time of late in a new monastery at the end of Queene Mother's Cours (formerly the faire and pleasant house of Mar^l Basompeere at Challiot) of which shee is the titular foundresse ; and the sweete Duke of Yorke doth here subsist vppon the allowance of one thousand crownes a month payd him from this state, beinge greatly esteemed by all for his comelinesse and personall dexterity, in his behaiour and exercises.

Amongst all the publique and priuat calamities wherwith it hath pleased God to visit my poore family, wee yett (by His gracious blessinge and mercy) enjoy our healths, and the hopes of a better condition, when eyther our humiliations, or our enemies sinnes shall moue the Divine power to looke more fauourably vppon vs ; in order to the obtaininge wheroff I yett make shifte to keep vp a chappell and the English Liturgie in my house, where, by ordinary and extraordinary deuotions wee implore Gods blessinges vppon his Ma^{ties} person and just cause. To that diuine Omnipotency recommending you (with all our cordiall and kind salutes) I rest,
Dear cousin,

Y^r most affectionate kindsman
and faithfull humble seruant,

R. BR.

Paris, 19 Aug. 1651.

I pray present my seruice to all such worthy friends of mine of our owne nation, in whom you find any memory of, or kindnes for, mee. Butt, faile nott to render mee most louinge and most respectfull to my noble friend to me still (for I know nott his new titles) Mr. William Murray.

Postscript. Extract of a letter from Nantes. 15th Aug^t. Prince Rupert is arriued with his prizes in Portugall, 15 leagues from Lisbone, and there hee fitts his shipps with some others that belonge to the Kinge of Portugall, to goe against the Kinge of Spaines gallions. This is written by a good hand from Lisbone.

Wee heere hope the newes of Schottland, and the defeat in Fife, is nott soe bad as the London prints would make vs beleeeue. I pray God send us some comfortable tidinges, and bless his Ma^{ty} with victory and successe in all his undertakinges.

ADDENDUM.

P. 289.

FROM this mention of Mr. Morrice's escape, it should seem as if there had been a report that a Royalist of that name, who in fact was put to death in 1649, had made his escape, and had remained in Ireland. A Mr. Morrice had got possession of Pomfret Castle, and had held it some time for the King ; it was besieged and taken by Lambert ; this gentleman had made his escape before the surrender, but was afterwards seized and was executed at Lancaster, as Whitelocke tells us. His story, as given by Lord Clarendon, is curious, and being short, may be worth repeating in this place :

“A young man, in the beginning of the war, had been an officer in the King's army, but engaged in the Parliament army with some circumstances not very commendable. By his courage and pleasant humour, he made himself very acceptable, and obtained a commission as Colonel ; but being a free speaker, and living licentiously, he was left out in new modelling the army, but not without compliments. He had a competent estate in Yorkshire, to which he went, and resided there. As he grew older, he repented of having left the King's service, and meant to take an opportunity of returning to it. His humour was so chearful and pleasant, and he mixed so much with men of all parties, that he had great weight with all of them. The Governor of Pomfret Castle was his most intimate and particular friend, and was so fond of him that he was never easy without him ; he was continually at the Castle, and the same bed served him. He now concerted with the King's party to surprize the Castle, and he so artfully managed with the

Governor, telling him that there was such a design, that he mixed with those concerned, in order to communicate every thing to the Governor, that he completely lulled that gentleman to sleep, and made him inattentive to notices which he received from other quarters. He also ingratiated himself with many of the soldiers, and at length effected his purpose. Cromwell was then gone for Scotland, so that they had time to repair the fortifications, and collect a good garrison. Cromwell ordered Rainsborough to go with a few troops to keep them in check ; and whilst he lay at Doncaster, 10 miles from Pomfret, they sent 20 picked men, who by the most dextrous management actually surprized Rainsborough in his bed, and mounted him on a horse ; but when he found how few there were who had surprized him, he called to his soldiers, and then the captors finding they could not carry him off, actually killed him, and then all made their way back to the Castle.

“ At length Lambert was sent to besiege the Castle ; the garrison made a most gallant defence, but finding no hopes of relief, they at length offered to surrender, if they might have honourable conditions. Lambert said, they were gallant men, and he would do all he could to preserve them ; but Col. Morrice and five more of those who had destroyed Rainsborough, must be given up, and he could not save their lives. The garrison said they never would deliver up any of their companions, and desired six days, that these six might deliver themselves as well as they could, the rest being at liberty to assist them. Lambert generously consented. The garrison made several sallies to effect the desired escape, in one of which Morrice and another escaped ; in another sally two more got away ; and when the six days were expired, and the other two remained in the castle, their friends concealed them so effectually, with a stock of provisions for a month, that rendering the castle, and assuring Lambert that the six were all gone, and he was unable to find them after the most diligent search, and had dismantled the castle, they at length got off also.

“ April 1649. Col. Morris, late Governor of Pomfret Castle, and one Cornet Blackburn, who had a hand in the death of Col. Rainsborough, and who were excepted persons on the surrender of the Castle, were taken at Lancaster in disguise.¹

¹ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 382.

“Aug. 1649. They were arraigned at York before Baron Thorp and Judge Puleston, for levying war against the kingdom. They made a stout defence on points of law, all of which were over-ruled, were found guilty, and Morrice being manacled with irons, complained of a soldier being so treated, but got no relief.¹

“Before the end of the month Morrice was executed.² It is not said whether Blackburn suffered.”

¹ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 405.

² Id. p. 407.

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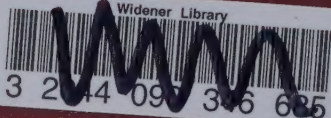
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